

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXXXI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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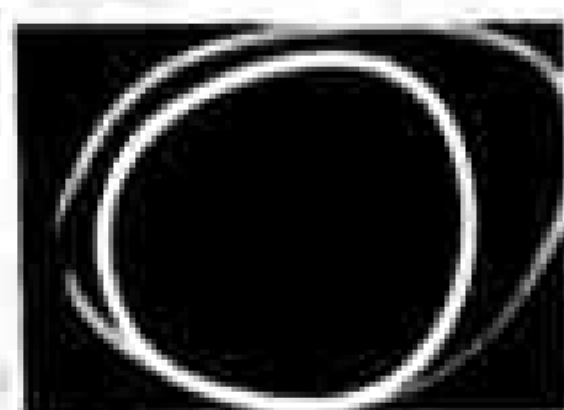
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## PREFACE

This is a volume of assorted 'firsts': Ephesians (5258), 1 Timothy (5259), the Hymn of the Cross (5260), Simonides fr. 25 W.<sup>2</sup> (5261), Oppian (5276–7), [Hermogenes] *Progymnasmata* (5279), as well as parts of the Sesonchosis novel (5262–3), Theognis (5265), Polybius (5267), and the incipits of Euripides' lost *Dictys* and *Danae* (5283)—all make their debut in the papyri here. It is also the first volume with editions produced through the aid of the Ancient Lives project: 5261 Simonides, 5265 Theognis, 5267 Polybius, 5270 Plutarch, 5271 [Plutarch], 5274 Epictetus, and 5284 Hypotheses of Euripides' *Heracles* and Other Plays owe their identification to users of this online system, which launched in 2011.

Part I adds to the abundance of Pauline literature at Oxyrhynchus (5158–9). 5260 corroborates the popularity among Patristic authors of the Hymn of the Cross. Part II offers new fragments of Greek literature previously unrecorded: a scrap of Simonides (5261) with elegiac verses thus far only known from Athenaeus, confirming modern conjecture. 5262–3 advance our knowledge of Greek fiction: new fragments of Sesonchosis and new insights into its form and content; in 5264 an intriguing romance devoted to a queen conquering Egypt and building pyramids.

Part III comprises known authors, most not well attested in papyri: 5265 Theognis corresponding with the mediaeval transmission and so supporting an early dating of the Theognidean 'sylloge'; in 5267 a faint glimpse of Polybius' *Histories* before it was epitomized, confirming modern conjecture; in 5269 a fourth- or fifth-century AD reading of Virgil's *Aeneid* in codex form; 5271 with [Plutarch] *De proverbii Alexandrinorum*, including a proverb that was part of the 'Athoan' collection and may be the work of the scholar Seleucus of Alexandria; in 5272–4 early manuscripts of Epictetus, including one precipitously close to Arrian's own lifetime. Likewise, 5276–7 are papyri of Oppian datable within a generation or two of his lifetime. New evidence for rhetorical manuals in 5279, [Hermogenes] *Progymnasmata*. 5280 doubles the number of papyri now attesting Themistius from one to two.

Part IV adds to the body of *Homeric*: a possible school text showing a list of Homeric names (5281) and an anthology (5282) apparently of Homeric speeches. 5283–5 give new summaries (hypotheses) of the tragedies of Euripides: 5284–5 from the well-attested alphabetic collection, and 5283 with stylistic divergencies pointing to a distinct and previously unknown collection of summaries. In addition to their incipits, 5283 also contributes substantial information on the plots of Euripides' lost *Dictys* and *Danae*.

Part V offers a modest selection of documentary texts: 5287 from AD 193 (Pescennius Niger) adds a new event to the few attested during the brief reign of this ill-starred emperor. In 5289 we get a petition by Marous to an unspecified vicegerent regarding a physical assault perpetrated by a now deceased man and his wife.

5262–4 formed part of the Harvard doctoral thesis of Dr Yvona Trnka-Amrhein, supervised by Albert Henrichs. The contributions of Strataki and Syrkou originally formed

part of their doctoral theses at Oxford (supervised by Professors Parsons and Obbink) and at UCL (supervised by Professor Maehler) respectively. **5272–3** formed part of the Oxford MSt thesis of Alexandra Schultz (supervised by Professor Obbink). **5266, 5269, 5275, 5278–9, and 5280–82** were produced by their editors as practical examinations for the MSt course in Literary Papyrology at Oxford.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Albert Henrichs, P. J. Parsons, and J. D. Thomas for their comments on texts, and to the Zooniverse and its public community of volunteers for their continuing interest and participation in both identifying and flagging texts of particular import through the Ancient Lives project, and the support provided by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the National Science Foundation, JISC, and the John Fell Fund of the University of Oxford. Finally, we record a special debt to Dr Jeffrey Dean for much needed expert typesetting, to Charlesworth as publisher, to Dr Chiara Meccariello for compilation of the indexes, and to Dr James Brusuelas, whose editorial acumen and perserverance is visible throughout.

*July 2016*

D. OBBINK

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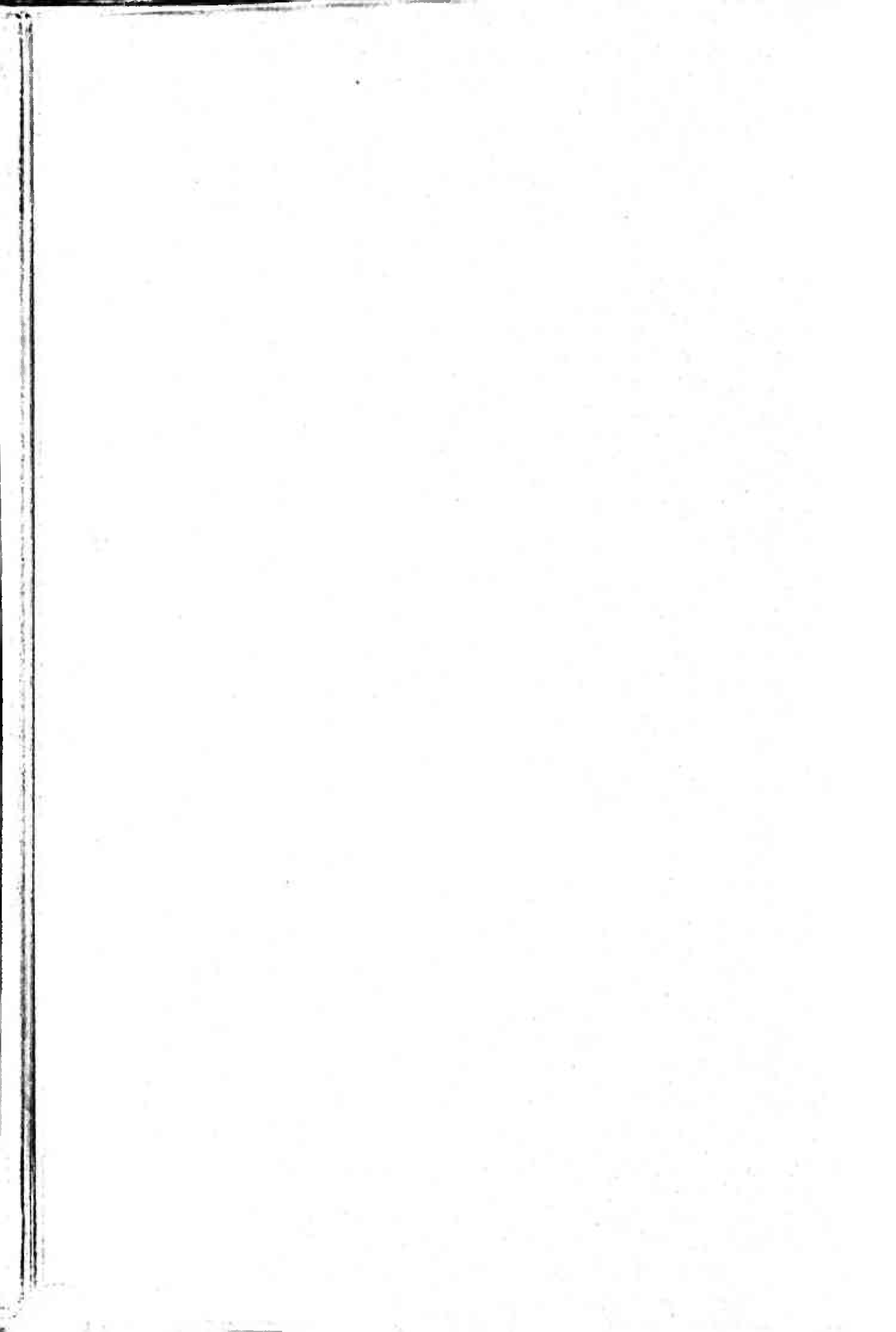
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SB = S. Bocksberger  
 CChr = C. Chrysanthou  
 SPCH = S. P. C. Hendriks  
 CI = C. Iturralde  
 CM = C. Meccariello  
 PhS = Ph. Schmitz  
 DS = D. Squire  
 GV = G. Verhasselt

JHB = J. H. Brusuelas  
 ADM = A. De Marinis  
 MH = M. Herrero  
 BL = B. Landau  
 JS = J. Shao  
 AS = A. Schultz  
 ASy = A. Syrkou

CC = C. Cheung  
 KFF = K. F. Funderburk  
 TCH = T. C. Hoklotubbe  
 EM = E. Marquis  
 FS = F. Schironi  
 GSS = G. S. Smith  
 YT-A = Y. Trnka-Amrhein



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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| αβγ     | The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read  |
| ...     | Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor   |
| [αβγ]   | The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture   |
| [...]   | Approximately three letters are lost  |
| ()      | Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀράβη) represents the symbol ἄ, κρ(ατηγός) represents the abbreviation κρς |
| [[αβγ]] | The letters are deleted in the papyrus  |
| ᾿αβγ    | The letters are added above the line  |
| <αβγ>   | The letters are added by the editor   |
| {αβγ}   | The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor   |

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. An earlier version, now largely superseded, remains available at <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>; J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, 2001) is the most recent printed edition.

## I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

### 5258. EPHESIANS 3:21-4:2, 14-16

60/5 part  
p<sup>132</sup>

3.5 × 3.5 cm

Third/fourth century  
Plate I

**5258** is a small fragment of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the first manuscript of this work from Oxyrhynchus to be published. Ephesians 3:21-4:2 appears on ↓ and 4:14-16 follows on →. No obvious margins are visible.

The text of **5258** is written in a generic, informal hand. Letters slant slightly to the right. A few distinct letter-forms are observable: α with wedge-shaped loop; ε with elongated horizontal stroke; in two of three instances ι extends below the line; μ with V-shaped middle stroke and a hook at the foot of the right-hand lateral element; c with flat and lengthy horizontal stroke; two and three-stroke γ that can extend below the line; a short and rounded ω with a tail touching the following letter. β and κ are particularly big. β seems to have a flat base, added as a separate stroke and projecting to the right. The scribe connects αι and ων in αιωνωγ on ↓ 2. Assigning a date to **5258** on the basis of palaeography is difficult given the paucity of visible letter-forms and the lack of an overall impression of the hand. However, the hand of **5258** vaguely resembles a more upright version of the Severe Style. Similar hands appear in the following papyri: VII 1019 + XLI 2948 (Turner, *GMW*<sup>2</sup> 66; assigned to the second or third century); P. Herm. Rees 4 and 5 (Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEP* 2a and Turner, *GMW*<sup>2</sup> 70; c. AD 325); P. Chester Beatty XI (Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEP* 2b; assigned to the early fourth century); Roberts, *GLH* 23b-c (both documents of the second half of the third century). Thus **5258** is datable to the third or fourth century. The angled μ, which is more at home in the second century than the third or fourth, may bear the influence of the Biblical Majuscule; it appears in the scripts of the various sections of a miscellaneous codex (containing horoscopes, legal documents and accounts) of the second half of the fourth century, which is comparable in respect to other letter shapes. These sections have been published as PSI I 22 and 24 (*Papyrologica Florentina* XII, Suppl., Tavv. xxxix-xl), 23, 41, VIII 958 (L. Del Francia Barocas (ed.), *Antinoe cent'anni dopo*, no. 59, Tav. at p. 74), 959 (Norsa, *Scrittura letteraria*, Tav. 14 B; AD 382/3) and 960 (AD 385/8).

A *nomen sacrum*,  $\overline{\kappa\omega}$  for κυριω, appears on ↓ 3. Itacistic spelling occurs in → 1.

Assuming an average of 38 letters per line, we can calculate that about 24 lines intervene between ↓ and →; extrapolating on those figures, the codex may have contained about 29 lines per page and without margins may have measured approximately 13.5 wide by 20 cm tall (assuming 0.8 cm as line-to-line distance).

Assuming side margins of at least 1.5 cm and upper/lower of at least 2.5 cm, the format of the codex from which **5258** possibly derives would fit best within Turner's Group 6 or 7 (*Typology* 19). The extent of the original codex is not known, but it probably included more than just Ephesians, which would occupy fewer than twelve pages in a codex of this format.

Pauline literature abounds at Oxyrhynchus. The following texts have been published: Romans (Π **209** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{10}$ ; XI **1354** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{26}$ ; XI **1355** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{27}$ ; LXVI **4497** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{113}$ ; PSI I 4 = NA 0172; a Coptic parchment published by W. E. Crum in 'Some Further Meletian Documents', *JEA* 13 (1927) 25–6); 1–2 Corinthians (VII **1008** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{15}$ ; LXXII **4844** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{123}$ ; LXXII **4845** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{124}$ ; Bodl.Syr.d.14 (P) [2 Cor 5:21 in Syriac]); Galatians (XVIII **2157** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{31}$ ; PSI II 118 = NA 0174; PSI III 251 = NA 0176); Philippians (VII **1009** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{16}$ ); 1–2 Thessalonians (XIII **1598** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{30}$ ); Hebrews (IV **657** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$ ; VIII **1078** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{17}$ ; LXVI **4498** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{114}$ ); 1 Timothy (LXXXI **5259** =  $\mathfrak{P}^{133}$ ) and even the Acts of Paul and Thecla (I **6**). Despite this abundance of Pauline literature, **5258** is the first fragment of Ephesians to surface from Oxyrhynchus. It joins a small group of Greek papyri that preserve the epistle (P. Mich. inv. 6238 + P. Chester Beatty Bibl. II =  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ; P. Yale I 2 + II 86 =  $\mathfrak{P}^{49}$ ; and P. Narmuthis 69.39a/229a =  $\mathfrak{P}^{92}$ ) and takes its place alongside  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$  as only the second papyrus to preserve this specific section of the letter in Greek ( $\mathfrak{P}^{49}$  begins just after **5258** ends).

The text has been collated against the 28th edition of Nestle–Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (hereafter NA<sup>28</sup>). **5258** contains only one variant. In the doxology in 3:21 the text lacks the *καί* present in  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$  & B et al., and printed in the critical text of NA<sup>28</sup>. The difference between the two readings concerns whether Jesus is the means by which the Church glorifies God ('To Him be the glory in the Church *by* Christ Jesus . . .') or a source alongside the church for His glorification ('To Him be the glory in the Church *and in* Christ Jesus . . .'). Prior to the discovery of **5258** the weight of the manuscript evidence favoured the inclusion of *καί*; however, **5258** may now make the shorter reading more attractive. Additional variant readings can only be inferred from the size of the lacunae. I have indicated these readings in the notes. See the introduction to NA<sup>28</sup> for explanations of the text-critical *sigla* used below.

↓

[αυτω η δοξα εν τη εκκλησ]ια εν [χ]ρ[ω̄ ιω̄ εις πασας τας]	3.21
[γενεας του αιωνος των] αιωνων [αμην παρακαλω]	4.1
[ουν υμας εγω ο δεσμι]ος εν κω̄ [αξιως περιπατησαι]	
[της κλησεως ης εκληθ]ητε μετα π[ασης ταπεινοφρο]	4.2
ς [συνης και πραυτητο]ς μετα μ[ακροθυμιας]	

→

[	εν τ η κυβια [των ανθρωπων εν πανουρ]	4.14
[για προς την μεθοδε]ιαυ [της πλανης αληθειαν δε]		4.15
[ποιουντες εν αγαπη α]υξ[η]ς . εν [εις αυτον τα παντα ος]		
[εστιν χ̄εξ ου παν το εωμ]α ευ . . . [		4.16

↓

1 εν [χ]ρ[ι]στ[ω]: so D' K L P Ψ 104<sup>c</sup>. 630. 1241<sup>r</sup>. 1505. 2464 98 vg<sup>ms</sup> sy sa<sup>ms</sup> bo<sup>ms</sup>; Cass: και εν χριστω Ψ<sup>46</sup> 8 A B C (D\* F G) 0278. 6. 33. 81. 104<sup>\*</sup>. 365. 614. 1175. 1739. 1881 vg sa<sup>ms</sup> bo

4 An ink stroke is visible to the right of the lacuna above the τ. The stroke may belong to an interlinear correction now largely lost. The hue of the ink is slightly lighter than the black ink of the body text, which may indicate that a second scribe is responsible for the mark; however, the ink may simply have faded. See for example the hue of the faded η on the same line.

→

1 κυβια: I. κυβεια.

2 There is not enough room in the lacuna for του διαβολου after της πλανης, a reading found only in A.

2-3 The reconstruction [αληθειαν δε] | [ποιουντες] (F G *ex lat.*?) fits best within the available space; the reading αληθειοντες δε (all other MSS) is less likely.

3 α]υξ[η]ς . εν. The transmitted text has here αυξησωμεν, but the ink traces of two letters that are visible between ζ and εν do not resemble the expected ωμ. The papyrus is quite damaged here and some of the inked fibres may have come loose.

3-4 The available space in the lacuna suggests that 5258 may omit a word here. It is possible that 5258 lacked (η) κεφαλη after εστιν, as in the supplement here provided *exempli gratia*, or that an accidental omission occurred.

4 All manuscripts read συναρμολογουμενον, but I can only make out ευ followed by traces of three or four letters that do not clearly resemble the expected ΝΑΡΜ; an attempt to restore that reading is also difficult because it gives little space for the ν and requires an unusual ρμ ligature. It is possible that 5258 preserves an irrecoverable singular reading.

G. S. SMITH

## 5259. 1 TIMOTHY 3:13-4:8

105/194(b)  
Ψ<sup>133</sup>Fr. 2 2.6 × 8.1 cm  
Fr. 3 4.5 × 16.3 cmThird century  
Plate II

Three fragments from a leaf of a papyrus codex, with 28 lines on ↓ and 25 lines on →. Fr. 1 and 2 (↓ 3:13-15; → 4:3-5) nearly join. Fr. 3 (↓ 3:16-4:3; → 4:3-8) is reconstructed from three pieces that join and preserves a bottom margin measuring 3.4 cm. Since there is only one line missing between Fr. 1+2 and Fr. 3 (line 11 ↓ and 10 →), the edition below treats them as a single piece with consecutive line

numbering. Reconstruction based on the text of Nestle-Aland's 28th edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* suggests an average of 18 letters per line on ↓ and 16 on →. The codex seems to have had about 29 lines per page, since only one line is missing between ↓ and →. Although all three principal fragments do not join, the total height of the leaf can be estimated at about 27 cm, assuming a top margin of at least 3 cm. Column width, considering the average number of letters per line and evident spacing, can be estimated at between 10 and 11 cm. The total width of the leaf, if we assume left and right margins of at least 1.5 cm each, would thus be about 13 cm. The codex would then fall into Turner's group 8 (*Typology* 20), where breadth seems to be about half the height.

This fairly large hand is a Biblical Majuscule, datable to the third century, probably the latter half. It is mostly bilinear, with ρ and γ dipping below the baseline and φ extending above and below the lines. The letters are generously spaced. In particular note the size of the head of ρ, slightly larger than the average for the Biblical Majuscule. There is a clear contrast between the light horizontal strokes and the heavy vertical strokes. Similar contrast is evident between the thicker right-hand diagonal and the thinner left-hand diagonal of γ, as well as between the thicker descending diagonal of χ and its thinner ascending one. Moreover, observe the contrast between the central part of the arc of ε and its extremities, which are thinner than the central stroke, and the contrast between the body of θ and its thinner central horizontal. The hand can be compared to LXII 4327, assigned to the third century on the basis of a cursive document on the back (cf. P. Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica* (2005) 111-12, 199).

A high dot is used as a punctuation mark in → 25. Spaces recur in ↓ 14, 15, and 16 (and probably also in the lacunae of ↓ 13 and 17) to mark the line divisions of the hymn found at 3:16. Elision is applied without being marked by apostrophe (↓ 5). *Nomina sacra* are present. On the basis of the space available in the lacunae I assume that the scribe used slightly different forms for the same *nomen sacrum*, i.e. 3-letter and 2-letter forms (↓ 2-3, → 13), a fact attested in other papyri (A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* (1959) 8-9 no. 14, 50-51 no. 258).

5259 is the earliest witness of 1 Timothy to be published. Other witnesses are: P. Louvre inv. E 7332 (=  $\mathfrak{P}^{61}$ , a parchment codex of the fifth century, containing 3:15-16, 4:1-3, 6 *passim*; partial transcription in T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, iii: *Supplementum Clementinum* (1884) 277-8), partially overlapping with 5259; St Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 6 11 (=  $\mathfrak{P}^{111}$  (see K. Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR* (1966) 20-21), fifth/sixth century, primary text of a palimpsest, 1:1-13); P. Berol. inv. 3605 (=  $\mathfrak{P}^{259}$  (see K. Treu, *APF* 18 (1966) 36), a school exercise in a parchment notebook from the fifth/seventh century, 1:4-7); P. Berol. inv. 13977 (=  $\mathfrak{P}^{262}$  (see K. Treu, *APF* 18 (1966) 36-7), probably an amulet on parchment from

the seventh century, 1:15-16). In addition, it is worth mentioning a written exercise consisting of 1 Tim 1:9-10 in Coptic written on an ostrakon of the seventh century (O. Vind. Copt. 5 c). On Pauline literature in Oxyrhynchus, see 5258 introd.

The text has been collated against the 28th edition of Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. However, in certain instances, as documented in the notes, the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland and the Center for New Testament Textual Studies apparatus (CNTTS) have also been consulted. In one case 5259 agrees with two MSS against the majority of witnesses (see ↓ 2 n.; see also ↓ 27 n.). In another it presents an elision occurring in only two other MSS against the majority of witnesses (see ↓ 5). Additional variants can only be inferred from the size of the lacunae. Notably, 5259 contains a previously unattested form of a *nomen sacrum* (see ↓ 22 n.).

Fr. 1+2+3 ↓

	ται και [ ] . [c.2]ν πα[ρρησιαν	3-13
	εν πιστ[ει] την εν χρω	
	την ταυτ[α] οι γρα[φω] ελπι	3-14
	ζων ελθ[ειν] εν ταχει εαν	3-15
5	δε βρα[δυ]νω εν ειδ[ης] πως	
	δει εν ο[ικω] θυ αναστρε	
	φεςθαι ητις] εστ[ιν] εκκλη	
	σια θυ ζωντος [cτυλος	
	και εδρ[αιω]μα της αλη	
10	[θειας κ]α[ι] ομολογουμε[	
	[νω]ς μεγα εστιν το της]	
	ευσεβειας μ]υστ[ηριον] ος	3-16
	εφανερ]ωθη εν καρ[κι] vac. ε	
	δικαιωθη] εν π[ν]τι vac. ωφ[θη]	
15	αγγελοι]c vac. εκ[η]ρυχ[θη]	
	εν εθνεσι]ν vac. επι[c]τευ[θη]	
	εν κοσμω vac.] ανελ[η]μφ[θη]	
	εν δοξη τ]ο δε π[να] ρη[τω]ς	4-1
	λεγει οτι εν υστεροι]c	
20	καιροις αποστησον]ται	
	τινες της] πιστ[ε]ως[	
	προσεχο]ντες π[ν]τι πλα	
	νοις και δι]δασκαλια]ις	

25 δαιμονι]ων εν [υ]ποκ[ρι  
 ρει ψευδο]λογω[ν] κεκ[αυ  
 στηριαςμε]νων την [ιδιαν  
 συνιδησιν κ]ωλυ[ο]ντω[ν γα  
 μειν απεχε]σθαι β[ρω 4.2  
 4.3

Fr. 1+2+3 →

]...[  
 ] ευχαρ[ιστι]α[ς  
 τοικ πικ]τοις [κα]ι επ[ε  
 γνωκοσι] την [αλ]ηθ[ει  
 5 αν οτι π]αν κ[τις]μα [θ̄υ 4.4  
 καλον κ]αι ου[δεν α]π[ο  
 βλητον μ]ετ ευχαριστι  
 ας λαμβα]νομ[ενον αγι 4.5  
 [αζεται γαρ] δι[α λογου θ̄υ]  
 10 [και εντευξεως ταυτα] 4.6  
 υπο]τι[θεμενος τοικ  
 αδ]ελφοικ κ[αλος εση  
 δια]κο[ν]ος χ̄[ῡ ῑῡ εντρε  
 φ]ομενος τ[οικ λογοικ  
 15 της π[ι]στεω[ς και της  
 κα]λης διδας[καλιας η  
 πα]ρηκολου[θηκας  
 το]υς δε βεβη[λους και 4.7  
 γρ]αωδ[ε]ικ μ[υθους πα  
 20 ραι]του γυμ[ναζε δε  
 σε]αυτ[ο]ν πρ[ος ευσε  
 βει]αν η γα[ρ σωματι 4.8  
 κη] γυμνας[ια προς ο  
 λι]γον [ε]στ[ιν ωφελι  
 25 μ]ος· η δ [ευσεβεια

Fr. 1+2+3 ↓

1 κ]αι [ ] [c.2]ν. The lacuna is too short to reconstruct και πολλην. A trace of ink that might be the left curve of an ο follows κ]αι; but there is not enough space for the expected π before it.

2 την with F 010 G 012 (CNTTS): τη other MSS.

4 ε]λθ[ειν with F G 6. 1739. 1881 vg<sup>ms</sup> sa: ελθειν προς σε other MSS.

εν τ[αχει with A C D\* P Ψ 33. 81: ταχιον X (D\*) F G K L 104. 365. 630. 1175. 1241. 1505. 1739. 1881 X.



5  $\mu$  with 69 and 76 (CNTTS):  $\iota\alpha$  other MSS.

9  $\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha$ . The word  $\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha$  is expected here. The  $\lambda$  is quite clear, then we can see the top of the iota, but the following traces are at first sight problematic. There is a horizontal stroke, 1.5 mm long, lying in the upper part of the writing space, and 0.5 mm farther, slightly below, another trace. One would be tempted to interpret them as the upper part of the left-hand lobe of the expected  $\omega$  and remains of its central vertical element respectively. However, the above mentioned stroke looks too horizontal and long. Perhaps traces of interlinear corrections?

12  $oc$  supplemented with  $\aleph^* \Lambda^* C^* F G 33. 365. 1175$  Did Epiph:  $\sigma D^*$  lat:  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \aleph^1 \Lambda^c C^2 D^2 K L P \Psi 81. 104. 630. 1241. 1505. 1739. 1881 \aleph \text{vg}^m$ .

13-14 Text reconstructed according to the *textus receptus*: the *paradosis* records a single variant in P. Louvre inv. E 7332, which transmits  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  before  $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\theta\eta$ .

21 The reconstruction of this line based on the *textus receptus* results in a much shorter line than the rest of the fragment. No other variants exist to suggest an additional word after  $\mu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , but the extra space allows for the possibility of an addition here.

22  $\overline{\pi\nu\epsilon\tau\iota}$ :  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  MSS. 5259 clearly contains an hitherto unattested form of *nomen sacrum* in the dative plural where the meaning may be 'spirit' but the context is not sacred but profane (i.e. not indicating the Holy Spirit of the Trinity). Assuming that in this passage the papyrus follows most MSS (see also 22-3 n.), it appears that the scribe contracted the noun on the basis of the analogy with the other *nomina sacra*; on the occurrence of this noun in contracted forms with a profane meaning, see Paap, *Nomina Sacra* 102-3; P. Bodmer XIV, introd. p. 18; S. D. Charlesworth, 'Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 40-2, 45, 47-9, 55-6, 61, 63. Thus I supply the iota in lacuna since the contracted form should contain at least the last two letters of the word to make the dative plural clearly recognizable, as the standard cases of *nomina sacra* suggest (see e.g. Paap, *Nomina Sacra* 6, 50, 72: the genitive plural is contracted as  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha\tau\omega\nu}$ ; cf. 8  $\overline{\pi\nu\omega\nu}$ ); note that the horizontal above the *nomen sacrum* goes on after the  $\epsilon$  before the gap, suggesting that there was another letter as part of the contracted form; cf. the occurrence of the dative plural in the profane meaning in P. Bodmer XIV ( $\Psi^{73}$ ), Lc 4:36, which is abbreviated as  $\overline{\pi\nu[\alpha]\epsilon[\iota]}$ .

22-3  $\pi\lambda\alpha$ || $\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  supplemented with most MSS:  $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$  P.  $\Psi 104. 614. 630. 945$  lat.

25-6  $\kappa\epsilon\kappa[\alpha\nu]$ || $\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$  supplemented with  $\aleph \Lambda L$  *alii* Origen:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\iota(\epsilon)\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$  F 0241<sup>ad</sup> *alii* lat sy<sup>p</sup>:  $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$  G D G I  $\Psi 33. 1739. 1881 \aleph$  Clem Did Epiph.

27 The iotacistic form  $\epsilon\nu\nu\iota\delta\eta\sigma\iota\nu$ , transmitted by F010 G012 (CNTTS), fits the available space better than  $\epsilon\nu\nu\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\sigma\iota\nu$ , the form transmitted by the other MSS. Note that 5259 agrees with F010 G012 also in  $\downarrow 2$ .

27-8  $\kappa[\omega\lambda\nu[\omicron]\nu\tau\omega[\nu \gamma\alpha]]$ || $\mu\epsilon\iota\nu \alpha\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  with MSS:  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu \alpha\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  Toup.

Fr. 1+2+3 →

1-2 It seems that there is not enough space to accommodate the *textus receptus*  $-\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu \alpha \sigma \theta\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\psi\iota\nu \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha \epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$ . It is worth noticing the occurrence of homoioarchon in the textual segment  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\psi\iota\nu \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha \epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , which may have caused an accidental omission of the word  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\psi\iota\nu$ . If so, the text can be accommodated in the available space as follows:

$\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu \alpha] \sigma \theta\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$   
 $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha] \epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\rho[\iota\sigma\tau\iota] \alpha[\epsilon$

The visible traces in 1 suggest two round letters; note that the second group of traces suggests a curved central stroke of the expected  $\theta$ .

3-4  $\epsilon\pi[\epsilon]$ || $\gamma\nu\omega\kappa\omicron\varsigma\iota$ . On grounds of space I have restored with the text of NA 27. Final mobile  $\nu$  is found in the text of NA 28, yet neither edition's critical apparatus report witnesses. According to

the CNTTS, *επεγνωκοσι*  $\aleph$ 01 Co<sub>4</sub>  $\Psi$ 044 1. 3. 33. 69. 76. 131. 209. 218. 424. 489. 927. 945. 999. 1243. 1244. 1245. 1249. 1505. 1548. 1573. 1628. 1724. 1739. 1768. 1876. 1880. 1881. 1962. 2085. 2086. 2374. 2400. 2495. 2501 TR: *επεγνωκοσιν* A02 Δ06 1646. 1720. 1735. 1900 MT.

16 η supplemented with most MSS: ης A 365.

17 πα]ρηκολου[θηκας supplemented with most MSS: παρηκολουθησας C F G.

25 η δ [ευσεβεια. I reconstruct the text by eliding the particle on the basis of the occurrence of elision in ↓ 5; the *textus receptus* has *scriptio plena* at this point.

J. SHAO

### 5260. HYMN OF THE CROSS: AMULET?

68 6B.24/K(1-2) a

24.2 × 18.5 cm

Fifth/sixth century  
Plate III

A fragment from a papyrus sheet, written along the fibres, containing a Christian hymn in praise of the cross; the hymn appears in several patristic writings. Rotated 90° before reuse, the back contains a very cursive script that is clearly contemporary. **5260** measures 24.2 × 18.5 cm, but on the basis of parallel texts (see below) must have originally measured about 28 × 26 cm.

The hand is an inelegant capital, lacking consistent bilinearity. Letters are generally written separately, although there are occasional ligatures (στ in col. ii 2; αν in col. i 7, col. ii 4 and 8; αι in col. ii 1). Its most distinctive features are: α with an unclosed top with a loop; ε with the middle bar extending beyond the rest of the letter; η with a high crossbar and a small hook to the right at the bottom, but in col. i 8 there is an occurrence of the minuscule form in the sequence μετανηα; very tall ι, going well above and below the line, sometimes with a rightwards small hook at its lower extremity; enlarged κ; c with a top stroke that extends quite far and sometimes slightly slants downward; γ with a small loop at the bottom.

This hand can be compared to scripts from the fifth and sixth centuries: Cavallo–Maehler, *GBEBP* 14a, Deed of loan of AD 423 (although much more cursive, it shows similarities in letter shapes, particularly α, ε, ρ, and γ); 14b, prayers from the middle of the fifth century (although ο and c tend to be smaller in size and γ is different, κ and ζ are particularly similar); LXX **4799**, a receipt of a cogwheel from AD 586; *GBEBP* 36a, a loan of money upon mortgage of AD 591/2 (which also shows both forms of η, majuscule—with a rather high horizontal stroke—and minuscule). We would be inclined to assign this hand to the fifth/sixth century.

The text contains common phonetic spellings (see comm. *passim*) and two mistakes apparently corrected by the same scribe *currente calamo* (col. i 11, col. ii 13).

The text is written in two columns, with 12 extant lines (only 11 legible) on the left (col. i) and 13 on the right (col. ii), each line constituting one stanza of the hymn.

The layout, however, is peculiar: the two columns are almost attached to each other and the line-beginnings of col. ii are not consistently aligned; one often has the impression that a line of col. ii is the continuation of a line from col. i (see e.g. col. i 5 and col. ii 6; col. i 7 and col. ii 8). Only the line beginnings of col. ii survive in their entirety. The number of letters per line in col. ii varies from 12 to 24, with an average line length of about 16 letters. The top seven lines of col. i, which are by far the best preserved, have a range of 9 to 15 letters, with an average of about 12 letters per line. If the line length of col. i was roughly equivalent to that of col. ii, then we should expect that approximately 4 or 5 letters were lost from the line beginnings in col. i. As we shall see, parallel texts confirm this, as well as provide a rough estimate of the size of the original sheet and of which stanzas of the hymn might have been present in the non-extant portion.

Each line in col. ii begins with a staurogram (ϙ), and we can assume the missing line-beginnings of col. i had them as well. The extant parallel texts almost always begin a stanza with the word *σταυρός*. So we can infer that each staurogram represents that word and is not simply a marker of Christian identity or a decorative element, as in other manuscripts and documents. In NT manuscripts as early (c.200–250) as Gregory–Aland  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  (P. Bodmer II),  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  (P. Chest. B. Pap. g. 31974), and  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  (P. Bodmer XIV and XV), the ligature ϙ represents the sequence *ταυρ* in abbreviated forms of *σταυρός* and *σταυρόω*, as well as other cognates as part of a *nomina sacra* treatment of the Greek words for ‘cross’ and ‘crucify’; see L. Hurtado, ‘The Staurogram in Early Christian Manuscripts: the Earliest Visual Reference to the Crucified Jesus?’, in T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts and Their World* (2006) 207–26, esp. 212–14, and the more comprehensive list of manuscripts and *nomina sacra* using the staurogram in Paap, *Nomina Sacra* 112–13. To our knowledge, the use of the staurogram in 5260 as a substitution for *σταυρός* does not appear in any other known Christian manuscript.

As noted, the hymn of 5260 is preserved in several Greek patristic sources. These texts include: Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In venerabilem crucem sermo* (CPG 4525; henceforth Ps-C; text in PG 50, 815–20); two sermons attributed to Ephrem the Syrian, *Sermo in pretiosam et vivicam crucem, et in secundum adventum, et de caritate et elemosyna* (CPG 3948; henceforth Ephr<sup>1</sup>) and *In Sanctam parasceuen, et in crucem et latronem* (CPG 4062; henceforth Ephr<sup>2</sup>); and John of Damascus, *Sacra parallela* (CPG 8056 (2.1); henceforth JDam). Ps-C has been attributed to John II, bishop of Jerusalem (d. 417); see F. J. Leroy, ‘Pseudo-Chrysostomica: Jean de Jérusalem; vers une révolution littéraire?’, *Studia Patristica* 10 (1970) 131–6. Although Ephr<sup>2</sup> is extant only in Greek and may well be spurious, Ephr<sup>1</sup> exists in Syriac as well as Greek, which may indicate that it is an authentic composition of Ephrem (d. 373). Therefore, a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the hymn would be the early fifth century on the basis of Ps-C, the late fourth century, if Ephr<sup>1</sup> is genuine, and earlier still if the hymn was only preserved, not created, by Ps-C or Ephr<sup>1</sup>. Given the striking

divergences in the contents and sequence of the stanzas in these witnesses, it is unlikely that they are dependent upon a single version of the hymn. Rather, the hymn appears to have circulated widely in late antique Christian communities, including Oxyrhynchus.

Ps-C was quite popular, and versions are attested in Latin, Syriac, Old Nubian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavonic, and Armenian. Of these versions, Gerald M. Browne has reconstructed the hypothetical Greek *Vorlagen* of the Old Nubian (henceforth BNub) and the Syriac (henceforth BSyr); see *Chrysostomus Nubianus* (1984) 54–9 and 'Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Venerabilem Crucem Sermo*: the Greek Vorlage of the Syriac Version', *Le Muséon* 103 (1990) 125–38. Although these versions follow the Greek text of Ps-C, their readings occasionally depart in both content and sequence; in some cases, **5260** agrees with one or both against the Greek original. The table below indicates how the sequence of stanzas in **5260** compares with the six parallel texts. The numbers in bold below the abbreviated names indicate how many stanzas are in that version. With regard to **5260**, we have to bear in mind that the number of lines lost between the end of col. i and the beginning of col. ii is unknown.

The data from this table has a few implications for reconstructing **5260**: the parallel texts allow us to reconstruct most of the fragmentary lines; four of the six witnesses have the phrase *χριστιανῶν ἐλπίς* as the first stanza (and the other two witnesses place it second); **5260** generally follows the sequence of stanzas in Ps-C, Ephr<sup>1</sup>, JDam (although this witness is considerably shorter than the others), BNub, and BSyr. Although Ephr<sup>2</sup> is a valuable witness for several poorly attested stanzas in **5260**, its sequence is quite unlike the other parallel texts; this also suggests that Ephr<sup>1</sup> and Ephr<sup>2</sup> are the products of different authors. Despite lacking secure evidence for an upper margin, col. i 1 *χρισ]τιανῶν ἐλπίς* is probably the first line of the hymn in **5260**. However, although the parallel evidence could be considered compatible by default, this does not prove the reconstruction adopted here.

The close agreement of **5260** with these witnesses allows us to determine, with some degree of confidence, how many lines have been lost from the bottom of the sheet in col. i. JDam is unique, as it only preserves 29 stanzas, the smallest number of all the witnesses; between col. i 10 and col. ii 2 it contains 9 stanzas. The others, as the table below shows, are much closer in total number of preserved stanzas. Between col. i 11 and col. ii 1 Ps-C has 7 stanzas; Ephr<sup>1</sup> has 6; and BNub and BSyr both have 8. We can thus estimate that about 7 or 8 stanzas are missing, most likely resembling the sequence and content of Ps-C, BNub, and BSyr. Reconstructing the missing text at the bottom of col. ii is far more difficult. Col. ii 12 has *γυμνων κκεπ[η]*, which is the final line of the hymn in every other witness except Ephr<sup>2</sup>. This would mean that the consensus last stanza of the hymn would have appeared about 10 or 11 lines before the end of the hymn in **5260**, assuming that col. ii had approximately the same number of lines as col. i. Col. ii 13 then has *οικουμένης ααφ[αλεία]*, which appears 12 lines from the end of the hymn in Ps-C

5260	Ps-C	Ephr <sup>1</sup>	Ephr <sup>2</sup>	JDam	BNub	BSyr
col. i	52	41	50	29	50	52
1) χρι]τιανων ελπις	1	2	2	1	1	1
2) νεκ]ρων αγαστας	2	1	19	12	2	2
3) τυφ]λου οδηγος	3	—	36	2	3	5
4) πεπ]λανημενων οδον	5	—	1	3	4	4
5) πενη]των παραμυθια	8	4	37	5	5	6
6) πλο]υσιον χαλινος	9	5	3	6	—	7
7) υπερ]ηφανων καθερες	10	6	21	7	7	8
8) ακο]λαστων μετανηα	11	—	38	—	—	9
9) τρο]παιον κατα δεμονον	12	7	4	8	9	10
10) κα]τα διαβολου νικος	13	—	22	9	10	11
11) νηπι]ων παιδαγωγος	14	8	39	—	11	12
col. ii						
1) δικαιον συμβουλος	22	15	42	—	20	21
2) θλιβομενων ανεις	23	16	8	19	21	22
3) νηπιων φυλαξ	24	17	26	20	22	23
4) ανδρων κεφαλης	25	18	43	—	23	24
5) πρεσβητελων τελος	26	19	9	—	24	25
6) φως τοις ε σκοτης καθαενοις	27	20	27	21	25	26
7) οπλον αιωνιον	—	—	10	—	27	28
8) ανομων νομος	32	—	29	—	31	32
9) προφυτων κηρυγμα	33	25	46	—	32	33
10) αποστολων κατα[ε.3]ς	34	26	12	—	33	34
11) μοναζοντων [ακκησι]ς	36	40	47	23	35	36
12) γυμμων σκεπ[η]	52	41	18	29	50	52
13) οικουμενοις ασφ[αλεια]	40	31	14	—	—	40

and BSyr, 10 lines from the end in Ephr<sup>1</sup>, and is not present in JDam or BNub. This strange sequence, going from the typical last line of the hymn to a significantly earlier line not found in all of the witnesses, makes it quite difficult to ascertain the sequence of the lost portion of col. ii. Given how closely 5260 follows Ps-C, BNub, and BSyr, it is tempting to suspect that the missing lines come from the later sequence of stanzas found there.

The exact function of 5260 remains uncertain. The presence of so many staurograms on one side, combined with a minimal amount of writing on the other, is suggestive of an amulet. In that context we should note: (a) the potential apotropaic use of the staurogram; (b) a number of epithets that could be interpreted as being petitionary (e.g., 'guardian of infants' in col. ii 3); (c) 5260 appears to have been folded, and thus may have been worn; (d) the hymn is written on a single sheet of papyrus, whose back has been reused, in other words the text was not

part of a larger work; and (e) the subliterary characteristics of the hand. Be that as it may, the relatively large size of the fragment (24.2 × 18.5 cm), despite its apparent folding, makes it a rather unwieldy object to be worn. It would also have to be classified among amulets that lack specific petitionary prayers. On amulets of a large size, see the checklist in T. de Bruyn and J. Dijkstra, *BASP* 48 (2011) 184–215; note especially P. Duk. inv. 778 (P. Rob. inv. 41), folded and measuring 26.8 × 11.5 (see C. La'da and A. Papathomas, *BASP* 41 (2004) 93–6); XVI **1928**, folded and measuring 30 × 21.5 cm; though not folded, *PGM* 13 (P. Cair. Cat. 10263; 33 × 18.7 cm) and *PGM* 13a (P. Cair. Masp. II 67188.v.1–5; 28.5 × 49.6 cm).

An alternative possibility is that **5260** was designed for liturgical use, to be sung by an individual or group in a church service or even displayed publicly. This would account for the large size of the entire sheet, the large letters, and the generous spacing between stanzas; cf. P. Amh. I 2 (a Christian hymn from the first half of the fourth century, measuring 26.4 × 31.3 cm) and XI **1357** (re-ed. by A. Papaconstantinou, 'La Liturgie stationnale à Oxyrhynchos dans la première moitié du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle', *ReByz* 54 (1996) 135–59), a calendar of church services, measuring 29.6 × 36.4 cm, which, according to the *editores principes* Grenfell and Hunt, is 'too elaborately written to be a mere private memorandum' and thus 'may have been publicly exhibited' (see introd., p. 22; cf. Papaconstantinou, 'La Liturgie stationnale' 137). Although the presence of the staurogram, rather than the word *σταυρός* itself, might seem strange in a liturgical document, abbreviations also appear in P. Amh. I 2 and the hymn fragment in P. Bodm. XII. It is also conceivable that the word *σταυρός* was sung by the congregation and the epithets sung by a choir or soloist. In light of these considerations, it would be appropriate to categorize **5260** as a 'possible' amulet (according to the classification types of de Bruyn and Dijkstra), with a liturgical use just as likely, if not more so.

This hymn was known and sung outside of Oxyrhynchus, as the parallel texts indicate. Although **5260** is dated to the fifth/sixth century, the hymn may have originated earlier, at a time when the composition of new hymns was controversial. In the fourth century Christian groups later regarded as heretical produced a number of new hymns, and there were also concerns about overly boisterous performances. In Egypt there was division in monastic communities of the fourth and fifth centuries about the appropriateness of singing hymns, and a synod at Laodicea in the late fourth century ruled that only regular singers, using previously approved hymns, were allowed to sing in church; see the discussion of these historical circumstances in K. Mitsakis, 'The Hymnography of the Greek Church in the Early Christian Centuries', *JÖByz* 20 (1971) 36–43.

**5260** is indicative of a devotional piety centred on the cross that developed in early Christianity. In the *Acts of Andrew*, probably written in the late second century, the Apostle Andrew delivers an oration to the cross immediately before his crucifixion. Hymns in praise of the cross are also sung by Christ in the so-called

*Gospel of the Savior*, probably to be dated to the fifth or sixth century (see the thesis of A. Suciū, *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense (Previously known as the Gospel of the Savior): Re-edition of P. Berol. 22220, Strasbourg Copte 5–7 and Qasr el-Wizz Codex ff. 12v–17r with Introduction and Commentary* (PhD thesis, 2013)). Distant echoes of the cross hymn found in 5260 also appear in a pseudepigraphical sermon of Theophilus of Alexandria (see A. Suciū, 'Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini *Sermo de Cruce et Latrone* (CPG 2622): Edition of Pierpont Morgan M595 with Parallels and Translation', *ZAC* 16 (2012) 194–7). There are also inscriptions and iconography showing devotion to the cross at the Apa Jeremiah monastery in Saqqara, which was occupied from the beginning of the sixth through the mid-ninth century (see P. van Moorsel, 'The Worship of the Holy Cross in Saqqara: Archaeological Evidence', in C. Andresen and G. Klein (eds.), *Theologia Crucis – Signum Crucis: Festschrift für Erich Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag* (1979) 409–15).

col. i

ϛ χρις]τιανων ελπις  
 ϛ νεκ]ρων αναστασις  
 ϛ τυφ]λων οδηγος  
 ϛ πεπ]λανημενων οδον  
 5 ϛ πενη]των παραμυθια  
 ϛ πλο]υσιον χαλινος  
 ϛ υπερ]ηφανων καθερεσις  
 ϛ ακο]λαστων μετανηα  
 ϛ τρο]παιον κατα δεμονον  
 10 ϛ κα]τα διαβολου νικος  
 ϛ νηπι]ων παιδαγωγος  
 ].[

col. ii

ϛ δικαιον συμβουλος  
 ϛ θλιβομενων ανεσις  
 ϛ νηπιων φυλαξ  
 ϛ ανδρων κεφαλης  
 5 ϛ πρεσβητελων τελος  
 ϛ φως τοις ε σκοτης καθαενοις  
 ϛ οπλον αιωνιον  
 ϛ ανομων νομος

- ϛ προφυτων κηρυγμα  
 10 ϛ αποστολων κατα[σ.4]ς  
 ϛ μοναζοντων [ασκησι]ς  
 ϛ γυμμων σκεπ[η]  
 ϛ οικουμενοις ασφ[αλεια]

‘[O cross,] hope of the Christians; [o cross,] resurrection of the dead; [o cross,] guide of the blind; [o cross,] way of those who have gone astray; [o cross,] consolation of the poor; [o cross,] bridle of the rich; [o cross,] destruction of the arrogant; [o cross,] repentance of the licentious; [o cross,] trophy against the demons; [o cross,] victory against the devil; [o cross,] instructor of infants; [. . .] o cross, symbol of righteousness; o cross, release of the oppressed; o cross, guardian of infants; o cross, head of men; o cross, fulfilment of the old; o cross, light to those sitting in darkness; o cross, the eternal shield; o cross, law of the lawless; o cross, proclamation of the prophets; o cross, ?? of the apostles; o cross, self-control of the monks; o cross, covering of the naked; o cross, security of the inhabited world [. . .]’

## col. i

1 ϛ: Each line of col. ii begins with a staurogram, which represents the word *σταυρός*; given this pattern, each line of col. i must also have begun with one.

3 ϛ τυφ]λων (l. τυφλων: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 208–11) οδηγος: so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, and BNub. Omitted in Ephr<sup>1</sup>. BSyr has *σταυρος πεπλανημενων οδηγος* (line 4) and *σταυρος τυφλων βακτηρια* (line 5). The word *βακτηρια* does not appear in 5260; however the phrase *σταυρος χωλων βακτηρια* appears in PsC (line 7), Ephr<sup>1</sup> (line 3), Ephr<sup>2</sup> (line 20), and JDam (line 4).

4 ϛ πεπ]λανημενων οδον (l. οδος): so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, and BNub; omitted in Ephr<sup>1</sup>. BSyr has *σταυρος πεπλανημενων οδηγος* (line 4).

οδον: the final vertical line of the ν has a large loop. While this is not typically the way this hand forms ν, it closely resembles the first ν in col. ii 8.

6 ϛ πλο]υσιον (l. πλουσιων: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 276) χαλινος: so PsC, Ephr<sup>1</sup>, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, and BSyr. Omitted in BNub.

7 καθερεσις: l. καθαιρεσις. For the interchange between αι and ε, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 192–3.

8 ϛ ακο]λαστων μετανηα (l. μετανοια: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 265–6): so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, and BSyr. Omitted in Ephr<sup>1</sup>, JDam, and BNub.

9 δεμονον: l. δαιμονων; for the phonetic spellings see above, col. i 6 and 7 nn.

10 ϛ κα]τα διαβολου νικος: so JDam; Ephr<sup>2</sup> has *σταυρος κατα του διαβολου νικος*. PsC, BNub, and BSyr have *σταυρος διαβολου νικος*. Omitted in Ephr<sup>1</sup>.

11 ϛ νηπι]ων παιδαγωγος: so PsC and BNub; omitted in JDam. Ephr<sup>1</sup>, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, and BSyr have *νεων* instead of *νηπιων*.

παιδαγωγος: the scribe appears to have initially written *παιδαγωγος*, and then added *γος* over the initial ending of *ος*.

## col. ii

1 ϛ δικαιον (l. δικαιων: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 276) συμβουλος: so Ephr<sup>1</sup> and Ephr<sup>2</sup>; omitted in JDam. PsC, BNub, and BSyr have *στυλος* instead of *συμβουλος*.

2 ανεσις: so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, BNub, and BSyr. Ephr<sup>1</sup> has *παρακλησις*.

4 ϛ ανδρων κεφαλης (l. κεφαλη: for the final ε erroneously added, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 125–6): so PsC, Ephr<sup>1</sup>, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, BNub, and BSyr. Omitted by JDam.



5 ρ *πρεσβητελων* (l. *πρεσβυτερων*: for the interchange between λ and ρ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 102-7; for the interchange between υ and η, see *ibid.* 262-5) *τελος*: so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, BNub, and BSyr; omitted by JDam. Ephr<sup>1</sup> has *στεφανος* instead of *τελος*.

6 ρ *φως τοις ε σκοτης καθαενοις* (l. *εν σκοτει καθημενοις*): so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, BNub, and BSyr. Ephr<sup>1</sup> has *σταυρος φως των εν σκοτει καθημενων*.

*ε σκοτης*: for the omission of final υ before a sibilant and the phonetic spelling of η instead ει, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 112 and 240-42. For the final ε erroneously added, see above, col. ii 4 n.

*καθαενοις*: presumably the omission of μ is a scribal error; α instead of η is a rather sporadic case of phonetic spelling (Gignac, *Grammar* i 286).

7 ρ *οπλον αιωνιον*: so Ephr<sup>2</sup>, BNub, and BSyr. Omitted in PsC (but present in MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine Gr. 493; see G. Browne, *Chrysostomus Nubianus* (1984), 117), Ephr<sup>1</sup>, and JDam.

8 ρ *ανομων νομος*: so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, BNub, and BSyr. Omitted in Ephr<sup>1</sup> and JDam.

9 ρ *προφυτων* (l. *προφητων*: see above, col. ii 5 n.) *κηρυγμα*: so PsC, Ephr<sup>1</sup>, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, BNub, and BSyr. Omitted in JDam.

10 ρ *αποστολων κατα[ε.4]ς*: omitted in JDam.

*κατα[ε.4]ς*: PsC, BNub, and BSyr have *καταγγελμα*; Ephr<sup>2</sup> has *καταγγελια*; Ephr<sup>1</sup> has *συνδρομος*. The scribe most likely began to write *καταγγελια*, but committed a haplography and erroneously added a final sigma (see above, col. ii 4 n).

11 [ακκει]ς restored with PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, BNub, and BSyr: *θαρος* Ephr<sup>1</sup>.

12 *γυμμων* (l. *γυμων*: simple scribal slip): so PsC, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, JDam, BNub, and BSyr. Ephr<sup>1</sup> has *γυμνητευοντων*.

13 ρ *οικουμενοις* (l. *οικουμενης*: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 266-7) *αεφ[αλεια]*: so PsC, Ephr<sup>1</sup>, Ephr<sup>2</sup>, and BSyr. Omitted in JDam and BNub.

*αεφ[αλεια]*. The scribe appears to have made the initial stroke of λ (jumping to the next consonant in the word) and then written φ over it.

## II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### 5261. SIMONIDES, *ELEGIES*

127/92

6.8 × 2.5 cm

First/second century  
Plate I

A fragment from a roll, written along the fibres. The surviving upper margin measures 4.9 cm, indicating a finely made bookroll according to Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 130–36. The back is blank.

The text is written in an 'Informal Round' hand, datable to the first or early second century. The letters are upright and carefully written, occupying an equal amount of space on the line. From the surviving eighteen letters a few distinct features are observable: α is formed with a small open loop, serifs occur on the bottom of the vertical elements of π and η, the central element of ω leans slightly to the left, c has a flat top, and ε is closed in the epsilon-theta style and its horizontal stroke extends toward the following letter. The text is bilinear, and a circumflex and an acute accent appear as lectional aids. For comparable letter shapes and features, see II 220 (= P. Lond. Lit. 185 = CLGP I.1.1; first/second century), IV 660 (first/second century), XXXII 2623 (first/second century), Roberts *GLH* 13b (early second century), and *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 24 (second century).

The text of 5261 overlaps with Simonides fr. 25.3–5 W<sup>2</sup> (M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci* i–ii (21989–92)) = 88 FGE, which Athenaeus quotes in 3.125a–d as an epigram. Once described as 'a strange fragment about snow' (I. Rutherford, 'The New Simonides: Toward a Commentary', in D. Boedeker and D. Sider, *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire* (2001) 33–54 at 53), Simonides' image of the blustery Thracian West wind and the cold Pierian winter culminates in the want of snow to cool a hot drink. Alongside a few other fragments and scraps, the papyrus provides further direct evidence of Simonides' *convivalia* (West, *Iambi et elegi* 123–8). Although a small scrap, more margin than text, the spacing causes no difficulties in restoring the text as transmitted by Athenaeus; it also confirms a modern emendation. Moreover, it provides further data upon which to contemplate the relationship between the Roman period papyri and the Hellenistic edition of Simonides.

To date, only five papyri have been either securely or with great confidence attributed to Simonides' works. All come from Oxyrhynchus and have been dated to either the first or second century AD. 5261 bears no palaeographical resemblance to XXII 2327, XXV 2430, and LIX 3965, the so-called 'New Simonides'. It does, however, as noted, resemble 660 and 2623, a paean (= PMG 922) and epinician (= SLG 319–86) loosely identified as Simonides in their respective *editiones principes*—alongside other possible choral candidates. More recently, Simonidean authorship has been accepted with a greater degree of confidence, and their connection to

**5261** should be borne in mind (on the attribution see G. Ucciardello, *ZPE* 160 (2007) 4–14). The  $\omega$  with its central element leaning to the left,  $\epsilon$  with its crossbar projecting far to the right, and  $\alpha$  with a small oval loop, often left open, are paralleled quite nicely across these texts. Ucciardello (loc. cit.) not only concludes that **660** and **2623** were produced by the same scribe, but also includes PSI inv. 1907 (more choral lyric, but the content remains speculative; see F. Pontani, *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli* 6 (2005) 21–7). Assigning **5261** to this scribe thus seems natural. Yet the comparison of the original of **5261** with that of **2623** indicates that the hand of **5261** is slightly smaller and the strokes thinner. Considering what little evidence we have for comparison, it may not necessarily be the same hand—though perhaps a change of pen by the same scribe remains a possibility.

The exact organization of the Hellenistic edition of Simonides and whether or not a bookroll contained one or multiple genres is not entirely certain. Favour leans upon one genre per roll, as the evidence for Pindar and Bacchylides so suggests (see I. Rutherford, *HSCP* 93 (1990) 201–2). The *Suda*  $\epsilon$  439 records something that might refract the Hellenistic edition, listing dirges, encomia, paeans, epigrams, and some individually named sea-battle poems. Yet what we know with certainty is only that Simonides' epinicians (omitted by the *Suda*) were grouped by athletic event, while his *Παρθένεια* are specifically mentioned at [Plut.] *De mus.* 17 and *Ar. Av.* 919. Still, it seems most likely that the layout of the Hellenistic edition was one roll per genre, and this would include Simonides' *Κατευχαί* (PMG 537–8), *Σύμμικτα* (PMG 540), and dithyrambs (PMG 539); see D. Obbink, 'The Genre of Plataea', in Boedeker and Sider (eds.), *The New Simonides* 74–81, and Rutherford, 'The New Simonides', 33–5. In this context, **5261** presents a further problem. It is also uncertain how Simonides' elegies were arranged, and in Athenaeus Myrtilus quotes these elegiac verses from Book VII of Callistratus' *Σύμμικτα* (*FGrHist* 348 F 3), which preserves them as an epigram. A collection of Simonides' epigrams based on actual inscriptions, the so-called *Sylloge Simonidea*, may have been produced by the fifth century BC, which, as we see in the case of Theognis (see introd. LXXXI **5265**), was then probably redacted and supplemented with isolable excerpts from elegies, as well as non-Simonidean epigrams, by the time it or variations of it reached Meleager in the second century BC (see D. Sider, 'Sylloge Simonidea', in P. Bing and J. S. Bruss (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (2007) 113–30). But E. Bowie notes that elegiac collections likely appeared by the fifth century BC as well, and Aristophanes (*Nu.* 1355–6, 1361–2) confirms that Simonides' elegies were in circulation (see E. Bowie, 'From Archaic Elegy to Hellenistic Epigram?', in Bing and Bruss (eds.), *Brill's Companion* 95–112). Elegy and epigram overlap in terms of metre, and so the distinction, especially for brief elegies, could be easily blurred from the time literary epigram gained popularity in the Hellenistic period; elegiac verses that were never proper inscriptions could easily find their way into a collection designated as epigrams (although Simonidean authorship is not certain, the only papyrus containing an epigram attributed to Simonides is XXXI **2535**,

assigned to the first century AD; see D. Sider, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 5–8). This prompts the question: is **5261** evidence of a bookroll of verse designated as epigrams or elegy? No real answer emerges—though Sider, in a forthcoming new edition and commentary to 88 FGE, cogently argues against classifying these verses as an epigram. Furthermore, as Rutherford observes, the layout of the papyri does not necessarily correspond to the presumed Hellenistic edition; multiple books could theoretically be included in one roll (Rutherford, ‘The New Simonides’, loc. cit.).

As to the content and the palaeographical relationships between Oxyrhynchus papyri thus far, **2327** and **2430**, containing paeans and epinicians, appear to be the same hand. They are either one large roll or two smaller ones, perhaps even more than two (see A. Pardini, *ZPE* 95 (1993) 23–7). **3965**, containing long narrative elegy and *convivalia*, overlaps with **2327** and is a copy of the same book. It seems to be a roll devoted to elegy. If we now add **5261**, **660**, and **2623**, keeping in mind a possible scribal connection, we have epinicians, paeans, and more *convivalia*. Obviously we still face the same option. They either represent one or multiple rolls. The change in size of the hand here perhaps suggests different rolls, and thus division by genre. Be that as it may, **5261** could be evidence of either a single roll of Simonides’ elegy or a collection of elegiac verse designated as epigrams. Overall, the increase in number of Simonidean fragments from Oxyrhynchus, as well as the range of genres present, suggests that **5261** was part of a copying effort devoted to Simonides’ works rather than an anthology.

I am grateful to Professor G. Ucciardello and Professor D. Sider for their comments and suggestions.

]λαιωνε[  
]γηνεπι[  
]τηςχει[  
].[

1 ]λ right oblique sloping downward, with only a small trace of the left oblique 2 ]  
γ the top horizontal is visible along with about half of the vertical stroke 3 ]τ tiny trace of  
a horizontal stroke 4 ].[ triangular remains of an upright vertical and a descending oblique at  
the top of the line, reminiscent of the top left corner of Ν exiguous trace of possibly supralinear  
ink directly under ι in the previous line, diacritic or correction?

**5261** + fr. 25.3–5 W<sup>2</sup>

ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀχ<sub>1</sub>λαίωνων εἰ<sub>1</sub>δακεν φρένας αὐτὰρ ἐκάμφθη  
ζωῆ Πιερίην, γῆν ἐπι<sub>1</sub>εσσαμένη  
ἐν τις ἐμοὶ καὶ<sub>1</sub> τῆς χει<sub>1</sub>τω μέρος οὐ γὰρ εἶκεν  
].[

3 τῆς. The accent is most likely used to mark τῆς as the demonstrative pronoun; see J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137–63 at 158.

χειῖτω: χεέτω MSS. M. L. West's correction confirmed. Bergk's conjecture χεάτω rejected. Page, though recognizing that χεέτω should be χείτω, still believed that χεάτω is the preferable tense; see D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (1981) 302.

4 ] . [ . If the remaining trace of ink is the top left corner of ν, space would permit reconstruction according to the text transmitted by Athenaeus, e.g. θερμὴν βαστάζει, ν ἀνδρὶ φίλω πρόποσιν. There is an exiguous trace of possibly supralinear ink to the right. This could be either correction or the breathing mark in ἀνδρὶ; breathing marks are present in **660**, **2327**, **2430**, and **2623**.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

### 5262–5263. SESONCHOSIS

These papyri present two new fragments of the novel about the legendary pharaoh Sesonchosis, called Sesostris in Herodotus (Σέσωστρις, 2.102–110) and Sesosis in Diodorus Siculus (Σεσόωσις, 1.53–8); in the historical sources he appears as an ideal king and world conqueror whose exploits even eclipse those of Darius I and Alexander the Great. The character seems based on a conflation of actual Egyptian rulers and their exploits: most likely Senwosret I, Senwosret III, and Sheshonq I; see I. Ladynin, 'Virtual History Egyptian Style', in I. Rutherford (ed.), *Graeco-Egyptian Interactions* (2016) 176–81; S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (1995) 246. The three previous fragments, all from Oxyrhynchus (XV **1826**, XXVII **2466**, XLVII **3319**), are published together in Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels* 246–66, and M. P. López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiáceos de novela griega* (1998) 357–75.

With the number of fragments now increased to five, the question of how many copies of the novel we have must be addressed. S. West originally published **3319** as an 'addendum to **2466**', and her identification has been accepted by many, including Stephens and Winkler and López Martínez. M. Funghi and G. Messeri Savorelli, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 86–8, have, however, argued strongly on the basis of different roll formats and subtle differences in the script that these two papyri are not in the same hand, and they have been followed by W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 28–9, and L. Del Corso, 'Il romanzo greco a Ossirinco e i suoi lettori', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri del romanzo antico* (2010) 260–61. **2466** and **3319** may share many palaeographical features, but the differences in roll format and the larger scale of letters in **3319** confirm that Funghi and Messeri Savorelli are correct. Although **5263** bears no palaeographical resemblance to the others, **5262** is written in the same hand as **2466** (see introd. to **5262**). We thus have four copies of *Sesonchosis* from Oxyrhynchus.

In both **5262** and **5263**, the name of the pharaoh is spelled with geminate γ (Σεσόγγωσις) as in **3319** and **2466**. This spelling is unique to these four papyrus

fragments. **1826** uses a  $\gamma\chi$  spelling ( $\text{Cεcό}\gamma\chi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ ) which also appears in the *Alexander Romance* (Ps.-Callisth. 1.33.6.6; 3.17.17.2, 24.2.4, 24.3.1 Kroll), Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (FGrH 609 F 2, 3a, 3b, for the first king of the 12th dynasty), the scholia to Aristophanes' *Clouds* (sch. Ar. Nu. 398c Koster), and the scholia to Apollonius' *Argonautica* (sch. A.R. 4.272-4, 277-8 Wendel).

The dating of **5263** to the second century makes it the earliest known fragment of *Sesonchosis*. Furthermore, differences in the style and content of **5263** suggest that more than one version of the text existed or that the tone of a unitary novel varied considerably (cf. J. Morgan, *ANRW* 34.4 (1998) 3338 and 3340). If so, this perhaps should not come as a surprise, since Diodorus Siculus (1.53) notes that both Greek writers and Egyptian priests told varying and conflicting stories about the legendary pharaoh ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \kappa\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \text{\textit{Ἕλλησι}}\ \delta\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\phi\omega\nu\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma,\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \text{\textit{Αἴγυπτον}}\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \omega\delta\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\chi\ \omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\nu$ ). These variables are significant, since the possible interaction and influence between Greek and Egyptian fiction has been a topic of growing interest as more attention is paid to Demotic literary texts; for a concise overview, see I. Rutherford, 'Greek Fiction and Egyptian Fiction: Are They Related, and, If So, How?', in T. Whitmarsh and S. Thomson (eds.), *The Romance Between Greece and the East* (2013) 23-37. There are known Demotic versions of a Sesostris narrative cycle: two papyri from the Tebtunis temple library (P. Carlsberg 411 + PSI inv. D 29 and P. Carlsberg 412 + PSI inv. D 30) dated to the first or second century AD, a small ostrakon (O. Leipzig UB 2217; provenance unknown) possibly datable to the first century BC or AD, and a possible third unpublished papyrus from Tebtunis (PSI inv. D 92 + P. Carlsberg 77); see G. Widmer, 'Pharaoh Maâ-Rê, Pharaoh Amenemhet and Sesostris: Three Figures from Egypt's Past as Seen in Sources of the Graeco-Roman Period', in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies* (2002) 377-93; K. Ryholt, 'A Sesostris Story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic Literary Sources', in H. Knuf, Chr. Leitz, and D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (2010) 429-37; and A. Jones and M. Perale, *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli'* 9 (2011) 39-51. Parallels between the Demotic and Greek narratives have been drawn (see Ryholt, 'A Sesostris Story' 431-4). It is particularly tempting to connect the possibility of *Sesonchosis*' status as *basileus* in **5263** to Sesostris' potential promotion to pharaoh in P. Carlsberg 412 (Widmer, 'Pharaoh Maâ-Rê' 388) and his undoubted reign in O. Leipzig UB 2217 (Ryholt, 'A Sesostris Story' 433). The setting of **5262**, which is specified in relationship to the Red Sea, may also suit the appearance of the Blemmyes in P. Carlsberg 412 (Widmer, 'Pharaoh Maâ-Rê' 390). Indeed, **5262** and **5263** join both the Demotic and the Greek versions of the Sesostris story in reflecting a wide geographical horizon. However, the question of the exact relationship between Greek and Egyptian fiction and

the possible translation or adaptation from one language to the other is still open-ended. **5262** and **5263** will undoubtedly add more fuel to the discussion.

Y. TRNKA-AMRHEIN

**5262. SESONCHOSIS (MORE OF XXVII 2466)**

102/24(a)

6.6 × 6.7 cm

Third century  
Plate I

This fragment presents thirteen lines from the middle of a column written along the fibres. A small portion of the left hand margin is preserved, 1.3 cm at its widest extent. The longest extant line contains 19 letters, but no complete lines are preserved. The back is blank.

The hand is a roughly bilinear example of the 'Formal Mixed' style, inconsistently ornamented. Certain letters (most prominently  $\alpha$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ ) sometimes receive serifs or blobs and at other times appear plain.  $\kappa$  is, however, always ornamented at the tip of its upper diagonal stroke.  $\nu$  is distinctive with its right upright placed higher than the left. The middle of  $\omega$  is slightly flattened though not completely linear, suggesting a somewhat developed form of the 'Formal Mixed' type. Identical letter formation and ornamentation and general consistency in letter height and line spacing indicate that the hand of **5262** is the same as **XXVII 2466** (*Sesonchosis*), dated by its original editor (J. Rea) to the third century. A good parallel is **VII 1016** (Roberts, *GLH* 20a), assigned to the second half of the third century, on the basis of the document written on the recto probably in 234/5 (cf. J. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 290 and L. Del Corso, *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 97).

Do **5262** and **2466** derive from the same roll? Although the content of the two papyri does not appear to be contiguous, it seems unlikely that two papyri of this rare text in the same hand would represent two copies. Given the evidence of different and even conflicting stories of *Sesonchosis* (see introd. to **5262–5263**), different versions of the novel (i.e. different rolls), perhaps even copied by the same scribe, are theoretically possible. Be that as it may, there is no concrete evidence of this in the Greek fragments that have thus far come to light. Accordingly, it seems best to classify **5262** as more of **2466**. If **5262** and **2466** come from the same roll or the same copy with multiple rolls, they should have the same formatting: an average of 24 letters per line and a column height of at least 28 lines per column (the top of the column in **2466** is not preserved). Thus, line 5 of **5262**, which contains 26 letters with plausible supplements, likely represents a complete column width. **2466** has been identified as the work of Oxyrhynchus Scribe A33, who is credited with **LVII 3882** + **PSI XI 1195**, **PSI XVII Congr. 12**, and possibly **LVII 3894** and **XXXII 2630** (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 27–9). Since the work of this scribe has been noted for quite consistent column widths and intercolumns (but not column

heights), it can be assumed that **5262** would have had a column width of *c.* 8 cm and an intercolumn of *c.* 2 cm (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 27–8). **5262** presents no traces of punctuation or other lectional signs except for an apostrophe in line 3 marking syllable division between two mute consonants (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 11). Elision is present in line 5, but *scriptio plena* in line 6.

**5262** describes a verdant place with reference to the Red Sea. Since fertile lands usually require a source of water, it is tempting to associate this place with the setting of XLVII **3319** (*Sesonchosis*). From **3319** col. iii 10–14 we learn that a girl, possibly named Meameris, sees Sesonchosis when she stands near a stream. If scholars are correct in suggesting that this girl may be the daughter of Webelis, chief of the Arabians, **5262** could describe a location in the land of Webelis (see Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels* 247–8). Indeed, a place in Arabia could be accurately described as ‘not far from the Red Sea’. If this is so, **5262** could derive from the same book or section as **3319** and may even introduce the scene in **3319**. However, other scenarios are possible.

This fragment describes a place with the distinctive features of a *locus amoenus* using high-register adjectives (εὐβοτος, πολύκαρπος). This represents a previously unknown aspect of the narrative’s style. A new character is also introduced, who is simply called an ἄνθρωπος in line 6 and may be further defined as a merchant in line 8. It seems probable that it is Sesonchosis who is being taken to the *locus amoenus* (ἀχθείς l. 3), and thus some travel can be inferred. Whether he is being led under duress (e.g. as a captive) and thus already in distressed circumstances as in **3319**, or whether he is simply guided by some (possibly friendly) agency, is impossible to say.

\* \* \* \*

]νεμῆδε[  
 ]επειθειση[  
 ].ρηναχ'θει.ε...[  
 ευβοτονκαιπολυκα.[  
 5 λυδα ωθετησερυθρ[  
 κειμενονοδεανθρ.[  
 δετονσεσογγωσιναγα.[  
 θε.αρηνεμπορος[  
 ]τωαπεμερισε.[  
 10 ]...τηνανα καια[  
 ].....[.]...[  
 ]νενυεις.[...]κτη[  
 ]..[ c8 ]....[

\* \* \* \*



3 ] , traces consistent with top of λ ρ, ρ with stray ink on the right of the descender seems to suit the trace better than β ε... [ , upright curved at top and bottom and trace of ink in upper part of writing space after fracture; upright and traces of high crossbar; upright; upright and traces of median crossbar 4 α, diagonal ascending from left to right [ , lower trace of descender slightly curving to left suggesting ρ or γ 5 , two vertical strokes with remains of a high crossbar 6 [ , trace at midline, slightly curved like ο or ω 7 [ , exiguous traces, possible high crossbar and median crossbar 8 , two uprights, the right slightly higher as for Ν; high crossbar with potential join of descender on left side 9 ριc, possible space between ι and c or just damage [ , upright 10 ] . . . , descender (possibly τ or ρ); small curved trace at midline approaching to circle with open top; three small traces at top, middle and bottom of line in a rough circle κ, upright with trace of crossbar ligatured to κ 11 ] . . . . [ , two uprights with possible crossbar; scanty traces at top and middle of line occupying the space of two letters; two uprights with possible diagonal like Ν ] [ , fibres abraded: two dots in lower part of writing space, in horizontal alignment, 1 mm distant from each other ] . . . . [ , first, tip of triangular letter; second, remains of left-hand arc; third, short diagonal trace on small piece of papyrus ascending from left to right, followed, 2 mm farther, by very scanty traces in vertical alignment in upper part of writing space; fourth, short horizontal trace at top height, whose left extremity is in vertical alignment with small trace slightly above line level, remains of horizontal at mid height: ε probable; fifth, traces in horizontal alignment at edge suggest high crossbar 12 [ , possible traces of upward diagonal consistent with λ, Δ, or λ 13 ] . . [ , illegible traces ] . . . [ , connected traces at top of line perhaps part of Ν; two diagonals and a vertical stroke, possibly λι, Δι, or λι; upright

]νεν μηδε[  
 ]επειcθειcη[  
 ]αρην ἀχθεις ἐπι.[  
 εὔβοτον καὶ πολύκαρ[πον καὶ οὐ πο-  
 5 λὺ δ' ἄπωθε τῆς ἐρυθρ[ᾶς θαλάσσης  
 κείμενον. ὁ δὲ ἀνθρω[πος  
 δε τὸν Σεσόγγωcιν αγα.[  
 θεν γὰρ ἦν ἔμπορος [  
 [ c.4 ]τω ἀπεμέριcεν[  
 10 [ c.2 ] . . . την αναγκαια[  
 [ c.2 ] . . . . [ . ] [ . ] . . . . [ . ]  
 [ c.2 ]νευνειc [ . . . ]κτη[  
 ] . . [ c.8 ] . . . . [

'having been led to (a place) with fertile fields and rich in fruit . . . situated not very far from the Red Sea . . . the man . . . Sesonchosis (acc.) . . . For he was a merchant . . . he assigned . . . the necessary . . .'

2 ]επειcθειcη[: one could articulate *πειcθειc*, if not the genitive fem. *πειcθειcη*[c or the dative *πειcθειcη*.

3 ἐπι [: this might be the preposition conveying the place to which Sesonchosis, the likely subject of ἀχθείς, is brought. Trace of an upright with a median crossbar, slightly descending, follows. Professor Parsons suggests possibly ἐπὶ κ[ῆπόν τινα (cf. e.g. Longus 2.3.3–5), but κ would be read with difficulty. The middle stroke descends slightly and could be the central element of μ; the obvious and easily paralleled μοῖραν (Plut. *Alex.* 59.1: ὁ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔχειν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν Αἰγύπτου τὸ μέγεθος, εὐβοτον δὲ καὶ καλλίκαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιτα) is ruled out since κείμενον in line 6 requires a masculine or neuter antecedent.

4 εὐβοτον καὶ πολύκαρ[πον: though a poetic word, the adjective εὐβοτος is also often present in geographical writing (e.g. Strabo). It describes a generally fertile place and thus is naturally matched with πολύκαρπος. There are no exact parallels for this pairing, but it is quite similar to a description of Taxiles' Indian territory in Plut. *Alex.* 59.1 (quoted above, 3 n.).

4–5 καὶ οὐ πολὺ δ' ἄπωθε: the frequent use of the phrase οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν in geographical descriptions (see e.g. Strab. 3.2.11; 11.14.6; 12.2.7) suggests the restoration of οὐ here. Moreover, since κείμενον in 6 seems to be naturally construed with the adjectives εὐβοτον καὶ πολύκαρ[πον and a new sentence appears to begin after κείμενον, it is reasonable to supply καὶ after πολύκαρ[πον to provide a list of three descriptors rounded off by δέ (Denniston, GP 202–3). Note that the supplement καὶ οὐ is compatible with the securely reconstructed length of 5, but the absence of either word cannot be excluded solely on the grounds of space.

5 Since lines 4–5 provide a description of the place to which Sesonchosis is led, ἐρυθρ[ is most certainly the ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα. This would be appropriate in a novel whose hero conquers the peoples who lived by the Red Sea in the Greek historical tradition (Hdt. 2.102.2; D.S. 1.55.2). In the *Alexander Romance* (a 3.17.17), Alexander sees an inscription left by Sesonchosis that casts his role in the area in a more benevolent light as a royal builder who benefited the people of the Red Sea by constructing an irrigation system.

6–7 A verb is needed. Given the presence of δέ in 6, the second δε in 7 is most likely the end of a third person singular verb agreeing with ἄνθρωπος, rather than the particle. A plausible supplement is εἶδε, possibly even οὐκ εἶδε, with Sesonchosis as the likely object (see below, 8 n.).

7 αγα [: ἀγαθόν is a tempting restoration, but the final trace of this line is too close to the preceding letter to accommodate the lower part of theta, and the supposed crossbar is on a loose fibre.

8 θεν: since this word precedes γάρ, it is most likely the first word in a sentence. As γάρ is followed by ἦν, the word ending in -θεν is probably an adverb or particle. Something like ἐνθεν is possible, giving the sense: 'Thence/thereafter he was a merchant'. Alternatively, we may think of πρὸς]θεν (Parsons).

ἐμπορος: is this the unknown man from line 6 or Sesonchosis himself? S. West suggested that Sesonchosis may have disguised himself in 3319 (*editio princeps*, 12), although Stephens and Winkler caution that he could not have been transformed too radically, since his beauty causes Meameris to fall in love at first sight (*Ancient Greek Novels* 247). If 5262 is related to the episode in 3319, Sesonchosis could pretend to be a merchant in order to hide in the kingdom of his former vassal. It is, however, more likely that the merchant is not Sesonchosis but the man first mentioned colourlessly as an ἄνθρωπος.

9 ἀπεμέριεν: the active meanings of this verb include 'divide off', 'separate', and 'assign a due portion' (see 10 n.), and thus its subject might be the ἐμπορος.

10 Professor Parsons suggests τὴν ἀναγκαία[ν τροφήν. ἀπεμέριεν in the previous line would indicate the act of assigning Sesonchosis a due portion which provided him with his necessities. The traces before τὴν are compatible with π]ρὸς (JHB), cf. especially Chrysipp. *Encomium in s. Theodorum* (CPG 6706–BHG 1765c) 71.20 Sigalas δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν.

5263. *SESONCHOSIS*

11 1B.151/C(e)

Fr. 2 18 × 32 cm

Second century  
Plates IV–V

Two fragments written across the fibres on the back of a much-damaged register. Fr. 2 contains two incomplete columns. Exiguous scraps also remain, one of which is attached to the upper part of the left column by only a few fibres. The right column is more fully preserved, extending up to 9.6 cm at its widest extent; the left extends up to 6.6 cm. Intercolumnar spacing ranges from 1.7 to 2.3 cm. No upper or lower margins can be defined, and the extant column height is 39 lines. The longest extant line (ii 28) contains 32 letters (34 with minimal supplement), but the text would seem to require a wider column. At 9.6 cm the column width is already quite large, and if it contained only a few more letters to bring it up to 10 cm wide or greater, it would fall within W. A. Johnson's 'exceptionally wide' category of column widths (*Bookrolls and Scribes*, 101–2).

The hand is an informal and somewhat inconsistent round capital. Moderately bilinear, it sometimes gives the impression of hanging from the notional top line. At line beginnings initial letters can be enlarged and executed with greater care and/or ornamentation. Some letters in the middle of a line are also rendered noticeably larger than the rest (particularly ε). In col. ii lines begin to rise sharply to the right around the middle of the extant column width. Good comparisons may be found in VI 853 = Roberts *GLH* 17a, assigned to the middle of the second century, and P. Phil. 1 = Roberts *GLH* 13a, from a dossier dated to c. AD 125. The hand also resembles XXXIII 2676, a land lease dated to AD 151. The hand of 5263 can thus be dated to the second century.

Although the left margin of col. ii is mostly preserved, there are no secure traces of paragraphi or other punctuation. Blank spaces can be used to indicate sense break or articulate phrases. A line filler appears in i 22. Diaeresis is used for ι and υ, and iota adscript is written (ii 29, possibly i 17). There are many iotacistic spellings, one instance of lack of contraction (ii 24), and *scriptio plena* (i 33, ii 30). The author does not seem to avoid hiatus.

Sesonchosis is the only named character in this papyrus. Also mentioned are a king or two individual kings (i 14–15 and ii 21–2), parents or ancestors (i 19), and a girl (ii 23 τῆν παῖδα). This girl may be the young woman probably named Meameris who appears in XLVII 3319 as Sesonchosis' betrothed and is there termed a παῖς (ii 3–5). If so, her continued status as παῖς would suggest that she is still not married to Sesonchosis at this point in the text. Furthermore, if the girl is indeed Meameris, the king to whom Sesonchosis entrusts her at ii 21–3 could be his former vassal, Meameris' father, who also features in 3319 (ii 2–4, 14–17; Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels* 248, suggest that this vassal could be the Egyptian

Thaimos or the Arabian Webelis from XXVII 2466). It is, however, equally possible that neither matches with previously known characters and that the *παῖς* is a slave girl, some other girl, or Sesonchosis' daughter. The king of i 14–15 could be the same as the one in col. ii, but the context suggests that he may more likely be Sesonchosis himself and thus that the hero has now become pharaoh. The parents or ancestors most plausibly seem to be Sesonchosis' or those of the dead men (i 16–21), although it is unclear how they fit into the narrative.

The content of this papyrus is dense, and the speed of narration seems to be quite quick; indeed, we might wonder whether our text derives from a summary narrative like that in Diodorus, rather than from the substantive novel. Col. i offers deaths, a report 'to the king', ships being loaded, and a list of places including Italy, the Dacias, and Germany; then perhaps 'westwards' and 'darkness at noon'. The sea travel of col. i continues in col. ii, as Sesonchosis 'sails off into the places called untrodden'. Thereafter, the atmosphere becomes fantastic when 'fiery stones . . . fall into the sea' and the phoenix arrives. This legendary bird receives a comparatively expansive description, and Sesonchosis appears to name it. This papyrus thus adds two important themes to the profile of *Sesonchosis*: sea travel and the marvellous. While sea travel places the text squarely within the world of the 'ideal' ancient novel, the fantastic elements link it more closely to works like Antonius Diogenes' *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* and the *Alexander Romance*. As Professor Parsons suggests, these two elements combine in the narrative of Pytheas of Marseilles, and Sesonchosis may be following the same route; see fr. 2 i 23–5 note.

Various factors suggest that this fragment comes from a more advanced stage of the hero's life than the other four *Sesonchosis* papyri. Sesonchosis may now be a *basileus*, while he was previously a prince (XV 1826) or in a powerless position (XLVII 3319). From the catalogue of places in col. i, he appears to have travelled a great distance and presumably also conquered extensively, which suggests that a considerable amount of time must have elapsed. The catalogue may also signal a transition in the narrative by summing up previous events before the beginning of a new section. This could work well with the shift from travel in the known world to the more marvellous context of the edges of the earth, and it is further possible that the list of places sums up the great deeds and travels of Sesonchosis' life (i 20) before the story of a (final?) journey into the unknown is told. Moreover, the appearance of the phoenix in col. ii could be interpreted as an omen portending a significant event in the hero's life in the text to come.

If the catalogue of places enumerates Sesonchosis' conquests, this would suit the picture of the world-conquering pharaoh given by Greek historians (Hdt. 2.102–10 and D.S. 1.53–8). The presence of Italy in the list is striking, since the pharaoh does not specifically advance this far West in any extant source (Lucan X. 278–9 imagines but does not guarantee his trip to the Rhone and Po Rivers; A.R. 4.272–3 has Sesostris, unnamed, progress through all Europe and Asia (*διὰ πάσαν*

ὁδεῦσαι Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε), and the pharaoh may have returned to Egypt from Colchis via the Ionian sea (4.284–93; see R. Hunter, *Argonautica Book IV* (2015) 122–4), but a stop in Italy is not specified). Since A. B. Lloyd, *Historia* 31 (1982) 37–40, and others have persuasively argued that the conquests of the Egyptian hero could be enlarged to promote Egyptian nationalistic pride in response to the dominant power of the day, the inclusion of Italy may represent a polemical challenge to Egypt's Roman overlords, as Sesonchosis would have conquered their homeland. If nothing else, the catalogue seems to reveal a Roman imperial framework. It is particularly noteworthy that the place name Dacia is written as a plural (i 24), since this may reflect the restructuring of the Roman province of Dacia into three parts (*Dacia Superior*, *Dacia Inferior*, and *Dacia Porolissensis*) under Hadrian c. AD 120 and the subsequent unification of the province as *Tres Daciae* under Marcus Aurelius c. AD 168 (J. J. Wilkes, 'The Danube Provinces', *CAH* xi (2000) 581–2; M. Cary and J. J. Wilkes, 'Dacia' *OCD* (2012) 409). It is thus possible that the Roman reorganization of Dacia could provide a *terminus post quem* for the composition of this text.

The papyrus has been restored by M. Capasso and N. Pellé from the Centro di Studi Papirologici, University of Lecce, Italy, in June 2012 (cf. Pellé, *Papyrologica Lupiensis* 20/21 (2011/2012), 153–64 (157)).

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## Fr. 1

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 5 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 10 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

† . . . . ., first, short horizontal trace at line level on tread-like fibre; second, upright apparently

descending below baseline 2 ]  $\epsilon$ , faded remains of upright? ] . . . , very scanty and tiny traces on lacerated fibres occupying the space of at least two letters ] . . . , first, three tiny dots suggesting remains of lower part of right-hand arc; second, remains of upright at edge? 3 ]  $\alpha$ , first, two tiny traces in horizontal alignment at top line; second, round letter,  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$  ]  $\psi$ , lower extremity of upright descending above line level, roughly in vertical alignment with two tiny traces at top line very close to each other and in horizontal alignment to each other  $\nu$ , short horizontal trace on tread-like fibre ]  $\mu\epsilon$ , possibly  $\gamma$  ]  $\epsilon$ , first, very tiny trace in upper part of writing space and, very close to it, apparent remains of upright slightly slanting to right; second, lower part of left-hand arc and horizontal traces at mid height:  $\epsilon$  very likely  $\psi$ , scanty traces suggest remains of right-hand arc:  $\theta$  likely 5 ]  $\nu\tau$  . . . , first, remains of right-hand arc? second, upright; third, short diagonal slightly slanting to right on damaged fibres, very close to horizontal trace lying roughly at line level; fourth, lower extremity of upright descending below line level? 6 ]  $\epsilon$ , first, traces suggesting left-hand half of  $\lambda$ ; second, upper part of right-hand diagonal of  $\lambda$  or  $\lambda$   $\delta\epsilon$ , first, scanty traces suggest remains of triangular letter; second, lower part of  $\epsilon$  with central stroke? 7 ] . . . , first, traces on a detached piece of papyrus, slightly misplaced to the left, suggesting  $\lambda$ ; lower extremity of its right-hand diagonal on the left of the following letter; second, left-hand arc; third, triangular letter,  $\lambda$  or  $\lambda$   $\theta$ , upright whose tip is in horizontal alignment with tiny trace at top line, 1.5 mm further 8 ]  $\nu$  . . . , first, two tiny traces at mid height and at line level respectively on tread-like fibre; second, traces on lacerated fibres suggesting  $\lambda$ ; third, upright with high bar like  $\tau$  or half of  $\pi$ ; fourth, trace at line level 9 ]  $\lambda$ , upright; 1 mm further tiny traces in horizontal alignment with each other 10 ]  $\epsilon$  . . . ,  $\epsilon$  no longer visible after restoration; round letter,  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ ; bottom of round letter 11 ]  $\epsilon$ , left-hand upright and high horizontal suggesting  $\tau$ , but possible trace of a bottom right descender suggests  $\pi$  instead 12 ] . . . , first, junction of left-hand upright and upper horizontal; second, short horizontal in upper part of writing space and remains of left-hand upright or curve; third, upright (first trace and part of the second no longer visible after restoration)

## Fr. 2 col. i

. . . . .

]  $\epsilon$

]

]  $\eta$  . [

]  $\epsilon\alpha$  [

]  $\delta$  . [

] . [

]  $\chi$

]  $\epsilon$

] . [ c.13 ] .

] . [ c.12 ] .

]  $\nu\tau\eta\nu$  . [ c.7 ] . [ . . ] .  $\delta$

]  $\zeta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$  . [ . . ] .  $\tau\epsilon\delta\upsilon\nu\eta$

]  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\eta\eta\rho$  .  $\omega\nu\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$

]  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota$

15 ] λαντωνταπραχθεν[.]α  
 ]ειδωνελυπειτοορων  
 ]ελευτανεταψεντη.εριω  
 ]σπλοιαεμβληθηναικαια  
 ]ντοιςγονευσιναυταδε  
 20 ] εως[.]ραξεωνεγεγε.οομη  
 ]ντοτουστελευτησαντ.σεν  
 ] αιδιααποκατασταθηναιγ  
 ].[.]ακρατοςκαιιταλιανκαι  
 ].[.]νιανκαιδακκιασκ.ιγερ  
 25 ] α[.]αλλαπλεισταεθνη.  
 ] ταςλοιπασχω.ασ  
 ]εχ. νυνυποτωνθεω.  
 ]...δυσινπαραγεινεται  
 ]...αστρεψαμενοςκαι  
 30 ]...τροφηνποιειταιειστην  
 ] υτουμεσονημεραςσκοτος  
 ].[.]...ειςθαιταικναυσι...[  
 ]...νεπει εουτωςμακρ...[  
 ] ν.ντομετρης...[  
 35 ] .σ.[.....][  
 ].[  
 ].[

## col. i

3 η. [, faded traces suggest left-hand arc  
 arc 8 ] ι, small round trace 10 ] .[, P? ] , round trace: ο? 11 ν. [, bottom of upright  
 ] .[, two uprights with crossbar: η or ν ] δ. crossbar attached to right upright: η or π?; letter is triangular like Δ but small so possibly ο 12 ν. [, traces consistent with top of ε or θ  
 ] .τ, curved upright 13 ρ. ω, curved bottom, bottom of upright, bottom of angular descender  
 14 ] ε, top curve and middle bar of ε 15 ] .., crossbar with faintest trace of curved top such as ε ligatured to upright, perhaps ει or, if no curve, a letter like π? 16 ν, the right upright of η has been stripped 17 ] ε, top curve of ε not present but likely, c also possible ε, possible faintest trace of bottom of upright 19 ] ν, left of η stripped ιν, right of η obscured 20 ] ., curved top consistent with c εν, middle bar of ε and crossbar of η abraded ε, trace of an upright at line bottom and a horizontal overlapping with the central element of the previous ε, most likely the remains of τ 21 ] ν, left upright of η in lacuna , narrow triangular top and bottom of upright: a small λ? ε, rough traces, but curved upright and three dots for the ends of three bars suggest ε 22 ] α, high bar ligatured to α 23 ] .[, upright and scant traces of a lower diagonal as of κ 24 ].[.], scant traces of upright; one letter stripped; trace of top of upright and upright curving to the left: ω? ε, curved top consistent with c but bottom abraded κ, scant

traces of top and right angle of a bowl as of  $\lambda$  25 ]  $\alpha$ , two dots one above the other; left half of  $\lambda$   $\lambda$ , diagonal top could also be  $\lambda$   $\eta$ , the right upright is mostly in lacuna 26 ]  $\tau\alpha$ , upright ligatured to following  $\tau$  as for  $\epsilon$  or  $\tau$ ; lower parts of  $\lambda$   $\lambda$ , bottom of long descender with possible faint traces of a bowl for  $\rho$  27  $\lambda$ , bottom of low descender with faint traces of bowl:  $\rho$ ; upright  $\omega$ , possible bottom of upright 28 ]  $\lambda$ , first, indiscernible shape; possibly the remains of an oblique stroke; round traces as of  $\circ$  or  $\epsilon$  29 ]  $\lambda$ , four dots; bottom of curved letter;  $\eta$ ? 30 ]  $\lambda$ , illegible traces and stripped papyrus but space for four letters 31 ]  $\lambda$ , high angular trace 32 ]  $\lambda$ , crossbar and upright, possibly  $\eta$ ; two high dots  $\lambda$ , scant traces consistent with  $\lambda$ ; upright, probably  $\lambda$  33 ]  $\lambda$ , first, remains of upright (upper and lower part); second, upright close to a trace lying slightly above line level:  $\eta$ ?  $\rho$   $\lambda$ , ascending diagonal; faded traces at line level on damaged fibres occupying the space of at least three letters 34 ]  $\lambda$ , midline dot  $\nu$ , speck in upper part of writing space  $\lambda$ , two uprights with spots in between,  $\eta$ ?; upright on damaged fibres 35 ]  $\lambda$ , first, short vertical stroke roughly at mid-line; third,  $\lambda$  or  $\lambda$ ?  $\lambda$ , first, three dots suggesting the vertices of a triangular letter; second, small dot at line level; third, traces in horizontal alignment at top line, suggesting high crossbar; fourth, two traces lying at top line and at line level respectively, roughly in vertical alignment with each other; further tiny trace in horizontal alignment with the upper trace and very close to it; fifth, upper half of upright 36 ]  $\lambda$ , scant ink 37 ]  $\lambda$ , scant ink

## Fr. 2 col. ii

. [   
 5 . [   
 . [   
 .. [   
 € .. [   
 φ . [ c.30   
 10 .. [ c.30   
 πο . [ c.10 ] . [ c.20   
 πε . [ ... ] ψ . [ ... ] φ . [ ... ] . [ c.14   
 σεε [ . ] . [ ... ] . ιτο . ντο . [ c.11   
 μηκ . [ c.7 ] . [ ... ] . [ c.8 ] . θ . [   
 15 ραο . . . . [ ... ] ρε . [ ... ] . ησκ [ ... ] . πυ [   
 τα . σεσογ [ ... ] νπ . [ ... ] βασιλε . [ ... ] ια [ ... ] . [   
 λιγ οδετ . [ ... ] νκ [ ] . σπαζεται . [ ... ] α . [   
 τησινηθε [ ... ] ν [ ... ] παλιγ . [ ... ] . . . . [   
 γωσισοθεν [ . ] . μεη [ c.15   
 20 εξαπροδοκτητουε . ωσφ . [ ... ] . εστυχα . [   
 κυκλευτοντ νκοσμον εντειλαμενος [   
 σιλειοσεσογ [ . ] ωσισασφαλω φυλας [ . ] . ν [   
 τη παιδα ειστουρες . . . . . ουστης [   
 απεπλεεν εισταλεγομεγαβατατου . [



25 πυρωδειςλιθουσαποτωνακτεινωντο[  
 τηνθαλασσανεμπε πτοντασκαιμε [   
 νεικαφθανονταεπ τηςγησεπιδετου [   
 ορνεο παμποικιλοντοιςπτεροιςεπ μ[   
 φαλ . . . ριχ . c . χωνακτεινωτοςωικα [   
 30 ονο[ . ] . . . εκαλεσεενδεαυτονφοινεικαμ[   
 φοι [ c.17 ] κενα[ . ] κ . . . η . [   
 . υ . [ c.17 ] . ιξα . ιοσεγε . [   
 . . . [ c.18 ] . . . υμιαι . [   
 . τ . [ c.21 ] . . . νη . . [   
 35 . ω . [ c.22 ] . . [   
 . . . [ c.22 ] . . [   
 . α . [

col. ii

6 [ , traces of ε or θ? 8 ε . [ , first, very tiny traces roughly at mid-line; second, curved trace 9 φ [ , left-hand arc of round letter: ο? 10 . . [ , first, τ or π? second, high indistinct traces 11 [ , traces of lower part of upright on tread-like fibre ] [ , thin diagonal descending from left to right 12 πε [ , last perhaps μ or ν ψ , tiny trace below line level φ , upright? ] . . , scanty mainly vertical traces on lacerated fibres, occupying the space of at least 2 letters 13 ] [ , high crossbar ligatured to upright . ε , tiny traces at top line and at line level suggest diagonal descending from left to right ντο [ , tiny trace in upper part of writing space and bottom of descender 14 κ [ , traces suggest high crossbar possibly linked to upright, i.e. τ (right-hand half of crossbar is missing) ] . . . . . [ , very damaged papyrus, second letter possibly η θ [ , middle bar of θ only preserved at far right; left-hand arc: ο? 15 φ . . . [ , illegible traces, third letter possibly λ, followed by two feet of uprights? ζ [ , blurred upright on lacerated fibres ] η , curved trace in upper part of writing space 16 α . , right-hand arc π , ε or θ β , spots of ink on lacerated fibres ε . . [ , first, upright and right diagonal possibly γ; second, traces on lacerated fibres suggesting a left-hand arc ] . . [ , indiscernible ink traces at line end, space suggests about two letters 17 τ [ , left-hand arc . c , remains of diagonal descending from left to right . . [ , first, traces suggest a blurred round letter; second, triangular letter α . [ , feet of two uprights 18 ] π , high horizontal and bottom of right-hand curved upright [ , indiscernible traces, stripped fibres ] . . . . [ , first, illegible trace; second, diagonal?; third, remains of left-hand arc and short horizontal trace at mid height in horizontal alignment with small trace at top height: remains of ε? fourth, high crossbar on tread-like fibre 19 θε , the lower third of both letters is disjointed by a tear in the papyrus ] . . , first, illegible ink; second, upright with possible upper crossbar, η or ν? 20 το , only right-hand half of τ is visible; only small portion of ο remains . ω , traces of upright; curved trace . . [ , illegible trace; two uprights ] . ε , speck of ink [ , two extremely tiny traces very close to each other at mid-line 21 τ . , traces of round letter ν ε , accidental dot at line level before oversized ε, but blank clear υ , displaced fibres have subtly moved Ν to the left 22 οε , tear splits the upper left round of ο from the main body; lower curve of c abraded γ [ , crossbar ends in a blob at right, likely representing ligature with a following letter in lacuna λω , papyrus displaced about 45° to the left of horizontal distorting λ and ω; after ω

upper and lower curves consistent with c [ ], very faint traces of curved letter, e or c; papyrus abraded with space for one letter; lower part of upright slanting to left 23 η, upright and suggestion of diagonal consistent with left of Ν υεεε, letter tops abraded and in lacuna . . . . . very damaged papyrus, first, short horizontal trace at line level, slightly curved; third, high crossbar; fifth, right upright with trace of high crossbar, likely π or ligatured τ 24 [ ], illegible trace 25 ρ, bowl squished and descender obscured by a tear οτ, upper and lower traces of ο, ligatured to following τ; υ, right upright obscured by displaced papyrus 26 θα, right side of θ lost to a tear, crossbar of θ and left side of α abraded π, ink at top and bottom of line, possibly a vertical stroke; left upright of π obscured by damage and upper crossbar partly abraded [ ], τ or π with right upright in lacuna 27 ι, mostly lost in a fissure of the papyrus, but a lower serif guarantees the ι, papyrus damaged, but ink at bottom and top of line with just enough space for ι ρ, papyrus damaged, but the curve of a large ε is present with faint traces of a middle bar [ ], trace in upper third of line 28 ο, fibres damaged: remains of upright; to its left two traces in horizontal alignment close to each other at mid height π, traces suggest Υ, assuming abrasion to upper right with ligature to following μ, or small ο, assuming abrasion to lower left 29 . . . , first, top of left upright with middle bar; then indiscernible letter traces χ, lower half of χ with faint traces of upper diagonals; remains of pointed bowl to lower left consistent with α χ, end of a midline horizontal and possible traces of the top and lower left curve of ε with possible ligature at bottom to following x ο, ο more likely than α (suggested by some ink above the bowl) [ ], vertical stroke with smudge at upper right, possibly a high crossbar or a diagonal 30 ] . . . , scant traces at mid height on exiguous fibres υδ, right-hand corner of α υτ, damaged descender with the beginning of an arc curving to the left directly above; horizontal and damaged upright of τ 31 [ ], thick upright? ]κ, two diagonals but left upright in lacuna . . . , first, traces consistent with α or λ; second, traces consistent with α or less likely λ; third, indiscernible due to stripped fibres [ ], upright with possible join to diagonal or crossbar at top 32 υ [ ], traces consistent with large ε or c; top crossbar broken but likely π, possibly τ ιξ, scanty traces suggesting upper and lower extremities of left-hand arc ι, remains of left-hand arc ε [ ], top curve of ε abraded; papyrus damaged but possibly η or Ν 33 . . . [ ], scant traces on lacerated fibres with room for 3-4 letters ] . . . , illegible traces of ink probably around midline [ ], lacerated fibres, three vertical traces in alignment 34 τ [ ], circular traces with possible middle bar: ε?; ink ligatured to previous τ, possibly ο ] . . . , fibres badly lacerated at this point: first, illegible ink around bottom of line; second, bowl at lower left as of α; third, speck at line bottom η, crossbar broken and right upright lost [ ], indiscernible traces partly on displaced fibres 35 ω [ ], first, remains of diagonal descending from left to right, probably joining upright: Ν very probable; after ω, remains of left-hand arc ] . . . [ ], fibres badly lacerated: first, remains of a circle: ο or c?; second, ink at top of line, as of top of upright 36 . . . [ ], first, upright apparently in ligature with mostly lost high crossbar at left; second, traces suggest left-hand arc of ο or a curved upright with crossbar at upper third to left? third, upright with possible top join and traces (upright?) to right ] . . . [ ], exiguous traces on badly lacerated fibres with space for c.2 letters 37 α [ ], illegible trace; remains of the triangular body of α; two short vertical strokes around mid-line

Fr. 2 col. i

]ε  
 ]  
 ]η.[ ]  
 ]εα[ ]ει  
 5 ]δ.[ ]  
 ].[ ]  
 ]χ  
 ].ι  
 ].[ c.13 ]  
 10 ].[ c.12 ]  
 ]ντην.[ c.7 ]ν[...].δ  
 ]σελαβον[...].τεδυνη  
 ]εικανηρ .ων μαχε  
 ]ελθόντων πρὸς τὸν βασι-  
 15 λέα αγγ]ειλάντων τὰ πραχθέν[τ]α  
 ]ειδων ἐλυπεῖτο ορων  
 τ]ελευτᾶν ἔταψεν τῆι εριω  
 ]ς πλοῖα ἐμβληθῆναι καια  
 ]ν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ταῦτα δε  
 20 Σεσογγώ]σεως [π]ράξεων ἐγένετο ομη  
 ]ντο τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ἐν  
 ]τὰ ἴδια ἀποκατασταθῆναι γ  
 ]κ[ατ]ὰ κράτος καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ  
 25 ]...νίαν καὶ Δακίας καὶ Γερ-  
 μανίαν ]κα[ι] ἀλλὰ πλείστα ἔθνη ι-  
 ]ς τὰς λοιπὰς χώρας  
 μ]έχρι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θεων  
 ]...ς δύσιν παραγίνεται  
 ]...αστρεψαμενος καὶ  
 30 ]ἀποστροφὴν ποιεῖται εἰς τὴν  
 ]...ου μέσον ἡμέρας σκότος  
 ]...εἶσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰ[  
 ]...ν ἐπέιχε οὕτως μακρ...[  
 ]...ναντο μετρης...[  
 35 ]...[  
 ].[  
 ].[

NEW LITERARY TEXTS

34

col. ii

5 .[  
 .[  
 .[  
 ..[  
 ε..[  
 10 φ.[ c.30  
 ..[ c.30  
 πο.[ c.10 ].[ c.20  
 πε.[...]ψ.[...]φ.[...] c.14  
 Σε[ο]γγ[ωσ....].ι[το]ντο.[ c.11  
 15 μηκ.[ c.7 ].....[ c.8 ]..θ.[  
 15 ραο....[.....]νς.[...].ησκ[...].πυ[  
 τα Σεσόγ[γωσι]ν πε[...].βασιλευ[...].ισα[...].[  
 λιν οδετο[...].νκ[ ] ἀσπάζεται τ...[ ]α...[  
 τησιν ἦλθε[...].ν[.....]παλιν.[...].[...].[  
 γωσις οθεν[ ]..μεη[ c.15  
 20 ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ε...ωσφ...[...].εστρυχα.[  
 κυκλευτον τὸν κόσμον· ἐντειλάμενος[  
 25 σιλεί ὁ Σεσόγ[γ]ωσις ἀσφαλῶς φυλάσσειν[  
 τὴν παῖδα εἰς τοὺς ἑσπερινοὺς της[  
 ἀπέπλεεν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἄβατα του [  
 25 πυρώδεις λίθους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτείνων το[  
 τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπεῖπτοντας καὶ μεχ[  
 νεικα φθανόντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἐπὶ δὲ του [  
 ὄρνεον παμποίκιον τοῖς πτεροῖς επ μ[  
 φαλῆς τρίχας ἔχων ἀκτεινωτὸς ὦι κα [  
 30 ονο[...].· ἐκάλεσεν δὲ αὐτὸν φοίνεϊκα μ[  
 φοι.[ c.17 ]κενα[.]κ...η.[  
 .υπ[ c.17 ]..ιζασιουεγε.[  
 ...[ c.18 ]...υμαι.[  
 .τ.[ c.21 ]..α.νη...[  
 35 .ω.[ c.22 ]..[  
 ...[ c.22 ]..[  
 .α.[

Σεσόγ-

τῷ βα-

εἰς

φοί-

κε-

col. i 14 ff.

'when they came to the king . . . [and] announced what had been done . . . he (the king?) was distressed on having seen (?), seeing (?) . . . that (they) had died, . . . that (?) be thrown [into?] the ships . . . to the parents. This was (?) . . . of Sesonchosis' deeds . . . they (?) those who had died in . . . be restored . . . with all (his) strength (?) Italy and . . . and the Dacias and Germany . . . and many other nations . . . [but as for?] the remaining lands . . . up to now by the gods? . . . he/it is present [by/in?] the west . . . having turned and . . . he brings about a turning away to . . . darkness in the middle of the day . . . to the ships . . . extended so far . . . (they could not?) measure . . .'

col. ii 16 ff.

'Sesonchosis . . . he greets . . . he came . . . back(?) . . . Sesonchosis . . . suddenly . . . the round/traversable(?) universe. After Sesonchosis commanded the king . . . to guard the girl safely . . . he was sailing away to the western [areas of the world], to the places called untrodden . . . stones fiery from the rays [of the sun] falling [into] the sea and a great(?) phoenix . . . arriving on the earth . . . a bird many coloured in its feathers (?) . . . with rays having hair [on the middle of] its head for whom [there was as yet no name?] . . . He called it the phoenix . . .'

col. i

There can be no certainty about the original line-length. However, a plausible supplement in i 25 would indicate an initial lacuna of c.20 letters, and plausible supplements in col. ii 23, 25 and 28 would indicate a final lacuna of c.10 letters, which would suggest lines of c.40 letters in both columns (Parsons).

12 ελαβον: if this articulation is correct, it is tempting to take ελαβον as a third person plural, possibly referring to the same group as the participles in i 14-15.

13 -εις or εις ανηρ? Then possibly θελων rather than θεων (Parsons).

μαχε: a form of μαχομαι? The rest of col. i may suggest that the king and his men are on campaign.

14-15 If correctly read, the participles ]ελθόντων and αγγ]ειλάντων are almost certainly to be construed together, necessitating the supplementation of a connective such as και in the lacuna between the lines. If the king is indeed Sesonchosis (see introd.), it is likely that the group referred to by the participles consists of Egyptians, presumably the pharaoh's men.

15 τὰ πραχθέν[τ]α: reference to a military engagement (cf. i 13) in which some of the king's men had died (cf. i 16-17)?

16 ]ειδων ελυπειτο ορων: diacresis on the ι of ιδων likely indicates word beginning, since the preceding letter is not a vowel (GMW<sup>2</sup> 10), although it may also articulate the components of a compound form, such as εειδίων or προειδών (R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 84 with n. 77). If ορων is to be read as the participle of ὀράω, we would have two semantically similar forms in close proximity, probably both agreeing with the subject of ελυπειτο. This seems awkward stylistically. The first participle could, however, be construed with ελυπειτο, while the second could govern what follows in the lacuna and agree with the subject of εταψεν, although a form of ὀράω should not be construed directly with the infinitive τ]ελευτάν. Although the two finite verbs very likely have the same subject, the participles would be less redundant if they describe different actions. Parsons very tentatively suggests e.g. ὀρών | [δέ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν δέει τοῦ τ]ελευτάν.

17 εταψεν: I εθαψεν? The θ of θάπτω would have lost its aspiration. Though uncommon, such loss is not unprecedented (Gignac, *Grammar* i 133-8). Parsons notes that we find no other example of such illiterate spelling in this piece, which suggests that the error may be graphic rather than phonetic, perhaps for εγραψεν, more likely for εταξεν (with following dative, 'he gave orders to').

τῆι εριω: the feminine article requires a feminine noun, although the only possibility, ἐριώλη

'hurricane,' does not seem likely. Parsons suggests that a proper name might fit, and notes that Ἐριώπη and Ἐριώπις do occur (rarely) in Greek myth (mother of Ajax, daughter of Medea etc), restore e.g. ἔταξεν τῇ Ἐριώπῃ κελεύειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἰς πλοία ἐμβληθῆναι. But why should a rare Greek name appear in an Egyptian context?

18 ] ε πλοία: εἰς πλοία is likely with the infinitive ἐμβληθῆναι. πλοία provides the first indication that the movement described throughout the column involves sea travel.

18-19 E.g. καὶ ἀ[[πετάξατο μετὰ δακρύων], 'he took a tearful leave of his parents' (Parsons).

19 ταῦτα δε: if the last two letters represent δέ, this should be a sentence beginning. Restore e.g. ταῦτα δέ | [ἀρχὴ τῶν τοῦ Σεσογγῶ]σεως πράξεων ἐγένετο (Parsons)?

20 Σεσογγῶ]σεως [π]ράξεων: for πράξεις as the deeds or *res gestae* of a ruler cf. Augustus' *Res Gestae* (Μοσιμπετιωσις Ἀστυασιωσις, heading μεθηρμηνευμένοι ὑπεγράφησαν πράξεις τε καὶ δωρεαὶ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ). Specifically of Sesonchosis, D.S. 1.53 μεγίστας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πράξεις.

ομη (e.g. ομη-, ὁ μη-, ὁ μη) may begin a new sentence.

21 ]ντο τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ἐν: the unknown third person plural verb likely governs the participle. 'Those who have died' may be related to the death above (i 17). Possibilities include war or the sea travel indicated in the rest of this column.

22 ]τὰ ἴδια ἀποκατασταθῆναι: the affairs could be the subject of the infinitive or someone or something could be restored to their own affairs/property: εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀποκατασταθῆναι, cf. Jos. AJ 11.92. Parsons notes: 'In this military context we could consider e.g. ὁμή[[ρουε δὲ λαβόντες ἀνείλο]ντο ('they recovered', the standard verb, e.g. D.S. 13.101.2) τοὺς τελευτήσαντας, ἐν[[νοούμενοι ἕκαστον εἰ]ε τὰ ἴδια ἀποκατασταθῆναι, "After taking hostages, they took up the dead, intending that each corpse should be restored to his own home."'

23-5 In this list of place-names Italy and Dacia are read for certain, the latter in the plural, which may provide a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text, see introd. p. 27. Parsons notes: 'At the end of 24 Γερ-[[μανίαν (or -ας) seems certain. Thus Sesonchosis is heading north through the Roman provinces: in 24 perhaps restore Παν]νονίαν, in 24-5 Γερ[[μανίαν καὶ Βρεταννίαν]. The next stage of the journey probably follows that of Pytheas of Marseilles, and brings him to Thule and regions beyond; from there he can continue westward to the place where the sun and stars set. So in 27 ff. restore e.g. βουλόμενος χειροῦσθαι μ]έχρι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν | [κεκώλυται. ζητῶν δὲ τὰ π]ρὸς δύειν παραγίνεται | [εἰς Θούλην τὴν νῆσον, ἣν] καταστρεψάμενος καὶ | [χρόνον ἀναπαυσάμενος] ἀποστροφὴν ποιεῖται εἰς τὴν | [ἀρκτικὴν ζώνην. καὶ ἦν] αὐτοῦ μέσον ἡμέρας σκότος.'

26 τὰς λοιπὰς χώρας: given the context, this might be part of a new sentence: 'but as for the rest of the lands . . .'

27 μ]έχρι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν: θεῶν seems very likely, but the ν is all but completely abraded, if there.

28 ] ε δύειν: εἰς δύειν or πρὸς δύειν?

29-30 ] αστρεψάμενος καὶ | ]ἀποστροφὴν ποιεῖται εἰς τὴν: perhaps καταστρεψάμενος ('having subdued') rather than μετα-. Parsons notes: 'In Antonius Diogenes the travellers break their journey in Thule (Phot. 109a τέως καὶ σταθμὸν ὡπερ τῆς πλάνης τινὰ ποιούμενοι), and perhaps Sesonchosis did so here. He then makes an excursion (ἀποστροφή) to the far North, before resuming his main journey to the West'.

31 ] υτου: αὐτοῦ? A preposition might be expected before μέσον ἡμέρας.

μέσον ἡμέρας σκότος: this sounds very much like a classic description of the darkness produced by a storm at sea (cf. Luc. *VH* 1.6; Ach. Tat. 3.1.1 and 3.2.2; 'the Herpyllis fragment' P. Dubl. C3, col. ii particularly 49-50: ἦν δ' ἄδηλ[ο]ν εἴτε νύξ εἴθ' ἡμέρα καθειστή[κ]ει σκότους ὁμοι[ό]τητι). Similar effects are also described during the eruption of Vesuvius (Cass. D. 66.23 νύξ τε οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότος ἐκ φωτὸς ἐγένετο). A third possibility, especially in this context, would be the day-long darkness of the arctic winter. See next note.

32 ταῖς ναυκίαι: equivalent to the πλοία of line 18? As regards the context, Parsons notes:

'Probably we should recognise two motifs that are common in travel-literature. (1) In the arctic whole months are dark (Pytheas fr. 13a, Ant. Diog. Phot. 110b). (2) The arctic sea resists the progress of ships (Pytheas fr. 7a . . . μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν . . . ; Tacitus, *Agg.* 10 *mare pigrum et graue remigantibus*). Seneca, *suas.* 1.1 combines the two, *confusa lux alta caligine et interceptus tenebris dies; ipsum vero graue et defixum mare . . .* A possible pattern might be καὶ ἦν] αὐτοῦ μέσον ἡμέρας σκοτός | [καὶ θάλασσα δοκοῦσα ἀ]ν[τ]ικεῖσθαι ταῖς ναυσίν . . . "and in that place there was darkness at midday and a sea that seemed to oppose the ships". But the initial traces seem difficult to reconcile with αγ.'

33 ἐπέιχε οὕτως μακράν? Parsons notes: 'Perhaps something (the darkness? the slush ice?) extended so far that they could not measure . . . (34 οὐκ ἐδύναντο μετρησαί?). If this is right, what did they want to measure? The length of the day (as Pytheas did to establish latitude)? Or simply how far they had travelled?'

col. ii

Plausible supplements in 23, 25, and 28 would suggest a final lacuna of c.10 letters, i.e. lines of c.40 letters. Parsons tentatively notes: 'Col. i ends with S. on the arctic sea; in col. ii 23-4 he sails off into the West. Where was he in the meantime? Apparently somewhere with a king (ii 16, 21-2). Perhaps S. returned to Thule, where he was welcomed (17) by the king (21-2), who asked him the purpose of his journey (18?) and whence he came (19?); S. replied that they had reached Thule unexpectedly (20), now realising that the world could easily be circumnavigated (21??). But of course most of this is mere speculation. Pytheas certainly described Thule as inhabited (fr. 6(g) = Strab. 4.5.5), Dercyllis and Mantinias in Antonius Diogenes found lovers there', and Dr Brusuelas notes that Procop. *Goth.* 6.15 has a lengthy discussion of Thule in which he mentions that there is not just one king but many: ἐν χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκουμένη ἔθνη τριακαίδεκα πολυανθρωπότατα ἰδρυται· βασιλεῖς τέ εἰσι κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστον.

1-18 Line-beginnings survive on the main fragment. The rest of the lines appear on two smaller fragments, fragile and twisted, to the right, whose exact placing cannot be guaranteed. But in 16 εεσογ[γωσι]ν looks plausible, and that supports the spacing assumed in the transcript.

17 λιν: πό]λιν? πᾶ]]λιν?

οδετο[ . . . ]νκ[ ] ἀσπάζεται: likely the beginning of a sentence: ]λιν. ὁ δὲ το[, but the sequence following το[ is puzzling.

18 τησιν: a noun ending -τησις. Possibilities include ἐρώτησις or ζήτησις, e.g. εἰς/ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἦλθε (cf. Xen. *Eph.* 2.12.2 (ὁ Ἀβροκόμης) εἰς ἐπιζήτησιν τῆς Ἀνθίας ἔρχεται, and especially Ant. Diog. Phot. 109a, where the whole story begins with Deinias κατὰ ζήτησιν ἱστορίας . . . ἀποπλανηθεὶς τῆς πατρίδος). Alternatively, ἐπικράτησις or κράτησις might refer to conquest from col. i or regal power in the context of kingship.

20 ε . . . ωσφ . . . [: displaced fibres make the reading difficult. After ε, perhaps two uprights: Dr Colomo suggests ἐν τῷ. In the context of the universe (21 below), a form beginning in σφαιρ- 'planetary sphere' might make sense; in the context of 'unexpected' one could think of strong emotions, σφοδρ-.

] . ες, or possibly ] . η. Then likely a form of τυγχάνω.

21 κυκλευτον τὸν κόσμον: an adjective κυκλευτός is not attested, nor is e.g. εὐκύκλευτος, but the equation of κύκλευμα and κόσμος appears in *Secundus Sententiae* 1 (τί ἐστὶ κόσμος;) where the κόσμος is defined as ἀπλανὲς κύκλευμα among other things. A connection to the basic definition of κύκλευμα '(water)-wheel' could suggest the meaning 'circular/round'. Alternatively, if derived from κυκλεύω, the adjective could mean 'traversable', which may be preferable given the exotic travel to the edges of the world that follows. Indeed, the famous oracle at the beginning of the *Alexander Romance* predicts that the king will return to Egypt 'after having traversed the universe' (κόσμον κυκλεύσας recension a 1.3.5).

21-2 ἐντειλάμενος[ . . . βα]]σιλεῖ: the sence and the blank space before ἐντειλάμενος suggest that

this is the beginning of a sentence. Thus, the supplement of a short connective (e.g. *δε*) might provide a complete column width if the lines are short (cf. notes to ii 26–7, ii 27, and ii 29–30); if the final lacuna is of 10 letters, as suggested above, we could think of e.g. [*δε τῷ ἐκεῖ βα-* (Parsons)].

22 *Σεσόγ[γ]ωσις*: the combination of the name here with its appearance in ii 19 suggests that this papyrus uses the spelling of Sesonchosis with *γγ* instead of *γχ*.

23 *τὴν παῖδα*: on Meameris see introd. Other possibilities: the possible unknown female of col. i 17, or the daughter Athurtis who, according to D.S. 1.53.8 = Hecataeus fr. 25, impelled Sesonchosis to his voyage.

*ἐσπερινούς* Parsons. Cioffi suggests *ἐχχατίους*, although this is an exclusively poetic word.

*της*[: at the end, probably *της* (*γῆς τόπους* (Parsons)).

24 *ἀπέπλεεν*: similar lack of contraction is found in Luc. *VH* 2.40: *ἐπέπλεεν*.

*τὰ λεγόμενα ἄβατα*: the 'places called untrodden' suggest an inaccessible area that has not been explored geographically and that may not even have a name. This could be the edge of the world as in Pind. *N.* 3.21, where the adjective describes the sea beyond the Pillars of Hercules (cf. J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (1992) 17–18). Note also Pytheas fr. 7a (i 32 n.) . . . *μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν* . . . . The adjective could also indicate a sacred area, such as one struck by lightning (e.g. *El. M.* s.v. *ἐνηλίγια*, noting that these places *καὶ λέγεται ἄδυτα καὶ ἄβατα*). The island of Biga near Philae in Egypt was called Abaton in connection with the cult of Isis (Sen. *Q. Nat.* 4A.2.7, as confirmed by inscriptions from Philae, see A. Bernard, *Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, i (1969) 60–61). While such a reference would make sense in a narrative about an Egyptian pharaoh, the plural does not seem to indicate a single named location. The marvels of the next lines could suit either unknown or sacred places.

25 *πυρώδεις λίθους*: in a discussion of meteors, John the Lydian describes a relic among the people of Abydos and Kyzikos as *λίθος . . . πυρώδης μὲν τὸ χρώμα* (*De ostentis* 7). Philostratus compares a mixture of gold and scarlet to *οἱ πυρώδεις λίθοι*, although he does not specify what these are (*Im.* 1.28.4). Fiery stones could also suggest volcanic activity, cf. i 31. For stones in volcanic activity, see Pind. *P.* 1.23–4; Verg. *Aen.* 3.575–7; Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.11; also cf. Cass. D. 66.21.4. According to Parsons, the context suggests that these are heavenly bodies, as described in Anaxag. fr. 42 (Hipp. *ref.* 1.8.6) *ἡλίον δὲ καὶ σελήνην καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα λίθους εἶναι ἐμπύρους*. These bodies traverse the dome of the heavens, and when they reach its lower edge they 'set' by falling into the sea. Parsons very doubtfully suggests supplying *τούς* [*τ' ἀτέρας ὡς* in 24 (*ε*)] itself doubtful because of 'twisted fibres).

*ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτείνων* (i. *ἀκτίνων*): possibly construed with *πυρώδεις* as 'fiery from the rays'. In that case, perhaps supply *τ[οῦ ἡλίου]* (Parsons).

26 *εἰς] τὴν θάλασσαν*: *εἰς* seems most likely and logical. The reference to the sea suggests that Sesonchosis may not have reached 'the untrodden places' yet, if they are lands or that these unknown places are located by the sea or that 'the untrodden places' consist of water. The edges of the earth were frequently thought to be marked by Ocean though some proposed 'empty' (*ἐρημος*, e.g. Hdt. 3.98; 4.17; 4.185; 5.9) or 'unknown lands' (*ἄγνωστος*, Ptol. *Geog.* 3.5.1; 6.14.1, 15.1, 16.1; 7.5.2) instead (Romm, *The Edges of the Earth* 9–44). Diodorus claims that Sesostrius 'conquered all India up to the ocean' (1.55.4). Thus, this passage could be set at the watery and unexplored end of the world, or it could take place on the way to unexplored lands (cf. ii 27).

26–7 *μεγ[. . . φοί]νικα*: i. *φοί]νικα*. If the lines are short, *μέγ[αν φοί]νικα* is possible, but see above for the suggestion that the final lacuna was of 10 letters. The phoenix was generally thought to be a very large bird and could be compared to the eagle or peacock in size (R. Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (1972) 251–3). The adjective could also refer to the phoenix's status (i.e. great) or its state of maturity (i.e. full grown).

27 The appearance of the phoenix in the time of Sesonchosis is paralleled in Tacitus *Ann.* 6.28, which reviews previous appearances of the bird when discussing its manifestation in AD 34: *prioresque alites Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit. Sesoside is*



Jacob Gronovius' correction of *esse sosis de*, and not all have agreed that Tacitus' 'Sesosis' is equivalent to the Sesonchosis character (also called Sesostri/Sesoosis, see introduction to 5262 and 5263). The presence of the phoenix in *Sesonchosis* supports the identification of the *Annales*' king as Sesonchosis/Sesostri/Sesoosis. Although in Tacitus the bird comes to the Egyptian city of Heliopolis while the phoenix of the papyrus seems to appear in or on the way to the 'untrodden places,' it is most likely that these are two variants on the same tradition of a phoenix manifestation in the time of the Sesonchosis character.

φθάνοντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: in later Greek and the Septuagint φθάνω can mean 'arrive' (*LSJ* II.2.a; *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (2000) s.v. φθάνω 2, especially Testament of Naphtali 6:9 τὸ κἀφός ἐφθασεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν [τῆς γῆς variant]). Still, its usual implication of 'first' might be operative here, since ii 29–30 suggest that the bird has previously not been known and must be named. Although the phoenix is associated with particular places in the different versions of its myth, the general term γῆ may be purposefully used as non-specific. The text could thus indicate that this is the first ever appearance of the phoenix in the world (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.28, though Ezek. *Exag.* 254 ff. may suggest that the phoenix first appears in the time of Moses).

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ [: how does this fit in? Parsons notes: 'The exotic bird is described 28–9, and S. gives it a name in 30, and no doubt it was explained why he chose this name. But in that case the name itself cannot be given already in 26–7. As a wild speculation, I suggest that what descended from heaven was the mass of myrrh in which the old phoenix was buried, and sitting on it (ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτ[ω]) was the young phoenix, who will carry the mass to Heliopolis, as e.g. in Ach. Tat. 3.25.4–5. Achilles calls the mass βῶλος ἐμύρνης. We could supply that here (μέγ[αν βῶλον φοί- (for βῶλος masculine, a mistake according to Atticists, see *DGE*); then 27 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτ[ω] ἤμενον.'

28 ὄρνεον παμποίκιον τοῖς πτεροῖς: a common description of the phoenix. Cf. Ezek. *Exag.* 257; P. Mil. Vogl. I 20 col. i 13 ποικιλό[πτερε] Colomo ('The *avis phoenix* in the Schools of Rhetoric: P. Mil. Vogl. I 20 and P. Lond. Lit. 193 Revisited', *Segno e testo* 11 (2013) 32–3); P. Lond. Lit. 193, fr. 2 col. iv 67–8. The Herodotean phoenix, while not described as ποικίλος, has golden and red plumage (*Hdt.* 2.73.2); cf. Ach. Tat. 3.25.2; for the colours of the phoenix, see Van den Brock, *The Myth of the Phoenix* 253–9 and Colomo, 'The *avis phoenix*' 57–8. Although ποικίλος is usual, the stronger παμποίκιος is unique to this phoenix.

28–9 ἐπ[μ] . . . κε]φ[αλῆς: if the lines are on the longer side, ἐπὶ μ[έσωι τῆς κε]φ[αλῆς] is a possibility. Indeed, the head of the phoenix is described as 'rather similar to that of domestic roosters' in Ezek. *Exag.* 261, which suggests that in one tradition the bird may have had a crest on the middle of its head.

29 κε]φ[αλῆς] τρίχας ἔχων ἀκτινωτός (l. ἀκτινωτός): similar to Achilles Tatius' description of the phoenix (3.25.2–3, especially ἀκτίσι κομῆ). The rare adjective ἀκτινωτός can signify a solar crown (*Phil. Alex. Legat. ad Gaium* 103; cf. *Horap. Hieroglyphica* 1.10 on the dung beetle and *PGM* 4.1110 on Horus) and is thus fitting for the phoenix whose association with the sun led to a 'rayed nimbus' becoming part of its iconography (Van den Brock, *The Myth of the Phoenix* 233–51).

ἀκτινωτός: although ἀκτινωτάς modifying τρίχας would make more sense syntactically, ο fits the traces much better than λ. A scribal error? Note that, as the text is reconstructed, ἐχων must be a mistake for ἐχον.

29–30 ὡς κα[ ] | ονο[ ] . . . : a relative clause, probably modifying the bird. ὡς καὶ [οὐκ ἦν] ὄνο[μ]α is possible to explain why the bird receives a name in the immediately following text. Since μ is a large letter, μα could fill out [ ] . . . with the ink of ] and the lacuna making up μ. I am grateful to Enrico Prodi and other members of Dirk Obbink's papyrus discussion group for this supplement and discussion of this passage. [οὐκ ἦν] would be shorter than the estimated lacuna of c.10 letters, so that e.g. [οὐκέτι ἦν] could be considered.

30 ἐκάλεσεν δὲ αὐτὸν φοίνικα: if the subject is Sesonchosis, he is here credited with naming the phoenix, although he could also call himself a phoenix (*Smyth* 1228a). Indeed, if δὲ were elided,

the text could read ἐκάλεσεν δ' αὐτὸν φοίνεϊκα (cf. Luc. *Perigr.* 55.27), but this seems less likely given the absence of elision in this papyrus (c.g. i 33). As far as I know, no extant tradition credits one person with naming the phoenix: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.393 *Assyrii*; Isid. *Etym.* 12.7.22 cites a usage among the *Arabes* in support of an etymology of phoenix as *singularis*; in the Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance* Alexander's men may name the phoenix (3.7, Letter to Aristotle, E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (1889) 101).

31 φοι [ : possibly the phoenix again, but more probably, as Tim Whitmarsh suggests, part of an etymological explanation for the naming of the phoenix involving the colour of the bird or some connection to the palm tree. An explanation of the name would certainly be better with the text of ii 30, and a phrase signifying 'because' or 'for that reason' could have stood in the lacuna.

32 ] ἰξαιοσενε [ : the most plausible articulation is before *σενε*, ἰξαι being for example the ending of a dative plural participle (a form of δεικνυμι?). The following, likely ὅς ἐγένετο, may be a relative or indirect clause (with ὅς = ὅστις, see LSJ IV 6).

Y. TRNKA-AMRHEIN

#### 5264. ON A QUEEN AND HER PYRAMIDS

104/54(c)

Fr. 1 6.5 × 9 cm  
Fr. 4 3.8 × 6.5 cm

Late second/early third century  
Plate IV

Six fragments of a papyrus roll written along the fibres. Fr. 1 represents the top of a column averaging 13–16 letters per line at a width of 5 cm and preserves portions of a top margin (up to 1.6 cm), a left-hand margin (up to 1.7 cm) and traces of a right hand margin. Since a bottom margin is present in fr. 4 (up to 2.75 cm) and fr. 5 (up to 2 cm) and the combined line length of these fragments would exceed that known from fr. 1, fr. 4 and 5 must come from two separate columns. It is likely that one of these fragments ends the column in fr. 1; fr. 4 is the more probable candidate as it continues an aetiological discussion which begins at the end of fr. 1. The number of lines per column is unknown, but the width falls into W. A. Johnson's 'class I' column width and thus suggests a column height in 'class I' or under 16 cm (*Bookrolls and Scribes*, 108 and 124–8). The back is blank.

The script is a carefully executed upright round bookhand. All letters except for † are strictly bilinear, and many are formed with their distinctive features in the upper third of the line (e.g. ε, η, κ, ρ, and sometimes θ). Particularly noteworthy are the ε with closed upper bowl and the κ with diagonal strokes detached from the vertical descender which can be compared to the κ of LXXVI 5090, a copy of Plato's *Politicus* written in a more polished and decorated hand, assigned to the second century. Two good parallels are III 454 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 62), assigned to the later second century on the basis of the Latin document written on the recto, which has a *terminus post quem* of AD 111, and LXI 4107, assigned to the second century by its editor, M. Haslam, who points out as a distinctive feature the 'lateral compression', a characteristic clearly evident in 5264 as well. It is worth noting that in 5264 the shading is more emphasized; this may suggest a slightly later date. Similarities in letter shapes can be found in the following documentary texts: VIII 1100 (Roberts,

GLH 20b), an edict of the prefect dated to AD 206, and XLII 3030 (GMAW<sup>2</sup> 87), an official letter dated to AD 207–11. Thus, 5264 should probably be dated to the late second/early third century.

A space filler is used in fr. 1.6. There is no punctuation except for a blank space (fr. 1.5), which indicates a pause in the sense. A second hand, using a thinner pen, has added a rough breathing (of 'form 1', GMAW<sup>2</sup> 11) and an acute accent in fr. 1.7, to avoid confusion between *αὔρη* and *αὐτή*. Iota adscript is written.

Two corrections appear where a letter has been crossed out, but the cancellation strokes are different enough to suggest two correcting hands. The first (fr. 1.7) is a short almost horizontal bar crossing out the iota, while the second (fr. 4.2) is a thin diagonal stroke ligatured to the previous letter and accompanied by a correction above the line (the fine pen suggests that the hand is the same as the one responsible for the above-mentioned breathing and accent).

The papyrus narrates the military success and building activities of a powerful woman, whose name is not preserved. A few details of her identity are, however, clear from the extant text. Since 'she conquered Egypt and added it to her pre-existing domain', it is possible to infer that she was not herself Egyptian and that she was a conqueror and ruler, which strongly suggests royal status. Although no woman from history or myth exactly fits these specifications, Egypt's traditional foes and the Greek legendary tradition can suggest the sort of woman who could have plausibly conquered Egypt in an otherwise unknown tradition or served as the inspiration for the protagonist of this papyrus:

a) A Libyan queen, like the Amazon Myrina (D.S. 3.54–5).

b) An Assyrian queen, such as the semi-divine Semiramis (Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 1a–n = D.S. 2.4–20; see the anonymous Hellenistic compilation known as *Tractatus de mulieribus claris in bello* (henceforth *De Mulieribus*) 1; a detailed account of the available sources is to be found in the commentary on this work by D. Gera, *Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus de mulieribus* (1997) 65–83).

c) A Persian queen, like Atossa (*De Mulieribus* 7, a section whose source is allegedly Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 178a)) or Rhodogyne (*De Mulieribus* 8; Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.5); see Gera, *Warrior Women*, 141–50 and 151–8 respectively.

d) An Ethiopian queen, such as Kandake in the *Alexander Romance* (α, β, γ 3.18–23).

More specific inferences can be drawn from the queen's construction of pyramids in Egypt, for while monument building is a typical activity of conquerors, female pyramid builders are rare. Only three non-Egyptian women are associated with such construction in the Greek tradition:

a) An unnamed Jewish queen (Josephus, *AJ* 20.95).

b) The Greek courtesan Rhodopis (Hdt. 2.134; D.S. 1.64.14; Str. 17.1.33; Plin. *NH* 36.82; see also *Suda*, Phot., and Paus. Att. Ἀπτικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγῆ, p. 207.6–9 Erbse s.v. 'Ροδῶπιδος ἀνάθημα).

c) Semiramis (*Suda* s.v. Σεμίραμις; Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum* 28).

The Jewish queen who built three pyramids near Jerusalem is unlikely to be relevant to this papyrus. Although Rhodopis is associated with the third and smallest Giza pyramid, sources vary in naming her the builder or just the recipient, and it would be a stretch to attribute military activity to the famous courtesan. Sources for the Semiramis legend are uncertain on whether the Assyrian queen conquered Egypt or just passed through on her way to Libyan campaigns. She is credited with building an unknown number of pyramids in an unspecified location, yet the evidence for this is quite late and does not necessarily involve Egypt. Still, the papyrus could represent a previously unknown version of her legend. As a queen who was particularly associated with military exploits and large-scale construction including at least one wonder of the world (the walls of Babylon), she could easily have assimilated another conquest and another famous monument. The protagonist could be one of the other possibilities listed above or another such queen, but given the available evidence Semiramis is undoubtedly the best candidate. On the basis of this consideration, it is very tempting to think of a Semiramis romance, which might or might not be related to the so-called *Ninus Novel* (see S. Dalley, 'The Greek Novel *Ninus and Semiramis*: Its Background in Assyrian and Seleucid History and Monuments', in T. Whitmarsh and S. Thomson (eds.), *The Romance Between Greece and the East* (2013) 117–41).

Although the conqueror-queen is the focus of this papyrus, almost equal attention is paid to the pyramids. The text specifies that they were made of stone and offers an aetiological discussion of their name. The specification of material may express a value judgment, since stone pyramids could be considered more prestigious than brick ones (Hdt. 2.136). The detail might also restrict the discussion to a subset of the many pyramids in Egypt. The stones of the famous pyramids near Memphis intrigued Graeco-Roman authors from the relatively sober Herodotus (2.124, 127, 134) to the very imaginative pseudo-Philo of Byzantium (*Mir.* 2.3–4), and the reference to stone in the papyrus may have directed the reader's attention to these iconic monuments. Greek and Roman sources attest that the identities of the Memphis pyramid-builders were debated (Hdt. 2.128 and 134–5; D.S. 1.64.13–14; Plin. *NH* 36.79), and a fantastic tale about a foreign queen could have grown up around them. The text is unfortunately too fragmentary to establish the extent to which it engaged aetiological or etymological discussions of the pyramids. As an abstract geometrical figure, the pyramid has been related to πῦρ, fire, because of its shape: Pl. *Tim.* 56b . . . τὸ μὲν τῆς πυραμίδος στερεὸν γεγονὸς εἶδος πυρὸς στοιχείου καὶ σπέρμα; cf. Arist. *Cael.* 304a, Plut. *Mor.* 427d and 887b, DL 3.70, Ammian. 22.15.29, Isid. *Etym.* 15.11.4. Alternatively, it has been related to πυρός, wheat; see Steph. Byz. π 284, IV p. 108 BN ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ πυραμίδες ἀπὸ τῶν πυρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖ συναγαγὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνδειαν ἐποίησε αἰτου κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον; Ath.

14.647c . . . γίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ταύτην [sc. πυραμίδα] ἐκ πυρῶν πεφωσμένων καὶ μέλιτι δεδευμένων. Supplements suggest that one explanation in the papyrus may be related to religious offerings for which the closest parallel is the possible use of pyramid-shaped cakes (πυραμίδες) in a religious context (Clem. Alex., *Protr.* 2 19 P = 2.22.4; Ath. loc. cit.; cf. Hdt. 2.47 on pig-shaped offering loaves/cakes in Egypt).

If not from a novel, 5264 could belong to a history or ethnography. Pliny the Elder provides the following list of authors who wrote about pyramids: Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris of Samos, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butoridas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, and Apion (*NH* 36.79). Our author may be among them. The text would also suit a biography or thematic catalogue of short sketches, such as a list of queens (e.g. the above-mentioned *De Mulieribus*), rulers (e.g. LXXI 4809; P. Haun. 6), or great buildings (e.g. pseudo-Philo of Byzantium, *On the Wonders of the World*). Since the protagonist has no parallel in Greek or Egyptian history, the text could be part of a pseudo-historical narrative which attributed famous monuments to a heroine. The text's simple style would be appropriate to any of these genres, but the summary character of the narrative suggests a catalogue or universal history more than an in-depth biography.

I am grateful to Professor Dirk Obbink, Dr Robert Cioffi, Professor Tim Whitmarsh and above all Professor Albert Henrichs for invaluable discussion and suggestions.

## Fr. 1

	καὶ προσκα[	καὶ προσκα[τεστρέ-
	ψατοαιγυπτ[	ψατο Αἴγυπτ[ον
	πασανπροστη	πάσαν πρὸς τῇ ὑ-
	παρχουσηβασίλει	παρχούσῃ βασιλεί-
5	αι καὶ τὰς πυραμι	5 αι· καὶ τὰς πυραμί-
	δάσεναιγυπτῶν >	δας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ >
	αὕτη[[ι]] ὡκοδομ[	αὕτη[[ι]] ὡκοδόμη-
	σετασλιθίνας μ[	σε τὰς λιθίνας μ[νη-
	μεία τῆς δυνά[με-	μεία τῆς δυνά[με-
10	ωσεαυτῆς κ[	10 ως ἑαυτῆς κα[ὶ κα-
	λουνταιαιπ . [c.1] . μ[	λούνται αἱ πυ[ρ]αμ[ί-
	εσαυτ . . τρο . [c.1] . [	δες αὐταὶ τροπ[c.1] . [

Fr. 2

ου[  
δι.[  
κε[  
με[

Fr. 3

εχ[  
χο[  
γω[  
ε.[

Fr. 4

]. . . [c.2] . . . [  
] λα[[υ]] τ'τους τω[  
] αμιδων κα[  
] θηκε τοις θε[  
] ατουτο πυρ . [  
] ιδεσκαλουντα[  
] ις δε πανυ και θ . [

]. . . [c.2] . . . [  
] ἐλά[[υ]] τ'τους τῶ[ν  
πυρ] αμιδων κα[ι  
ἀν] ἐθήκε τοίς θε[οίς  
καί δ]ιὰ τοῦτο πυρα-  
μίδες καλοῦντα[ι  
] ις δὲ πάνυ καὶ θ . [

Fr. 5

] αλλο . [  
] ουσικους . [

Fr. 6

] . [  
] δ[

Fr. 1

3 . , end of a vertical descender sloping to the right with bowl abraded 10 . [ , two descenders suggesting λ  
11 π . [ , fibres are damaged; remaining traces suggest an upsilon (remains of the upper part of the two obliques) ] . , traces consistent with λ or μ 12 . ε , two connected sloping descenders whose join is consistent with λ, λ, or Δ τ . , first, upper part of thick upright in vertical alignment with thinner vertical trace at line level: λ? second, upper part of upright . [ , descender joined to high horizontal bar, consistent with τ, π, or ρ ] . [ , tiny trace at top of writing space

Fr. 2

2 . [ , merest trace of the bottom of a descender

Fr. 3

4 . [ , top of a vertical descender

Fr. 4

1 ] . [ , low horizontal stroke possibly consistent with the base of ε; bottom of vertical stroke, slightly curved to the right, which could fit the lower extremity of an arc ] . . . [ , first, bottom of descender curved to the right; second, one long descender breaking the bottom line such as ψ; third, bottom of descender curved to the right 2 ] . , right half of high horizontal bar and trace of low

horizontal sloping up 4 ] , extremely tiny traces at edge at top and middle of line, probably  
ligatured to the following θ 5 ] , upper half of upright [ , faintest trace, possibly end  
of a left-right diagonal 6 ] , tiny traces at top and mid height 7 c , remains of lower  
part of upright [ , vertical stroke

## Fr. 5

1 ] , traces consistent with λ or μ [ , vertical descender, probably joined with the trace of  
a lower sloping descender curved to the right, together consistent with κ or ν 2 ] , descender  
sloping from left to right, with possible trace of a lower horizontal consistent with λ or possibly  
μ [ , traces consistent with either c or o

## Fr. 6

1 ] , left-hand arc

## Fr. 1

‘... and she subjected all Egypt and added it to her existing kingdom. And she built the stone  
pyramids in Egypt as memorials of her might, and these pyramids are called ...’

1-2 προκα[τεστρέ]ψατο: this rare compound verb is only attested in the 2nd century AD and  
later, primarily in Cassius Dio, who frequently uses the verb to express the completion of a conquest,  
e.g. in the phrase τὰ λοιπὰ προκαταστρέψασθαι or with a variant morphological form of the verb  
(37.5.2, 37.49.1, 44.43.3, 60.21.5, 62.10.1). Thus, its appearance here might suggest that Egypt was the  
end of the queen’s campaigns.

2-3 Αἴγυπτ[ον] | πᾶσαν: this phrase without the article appears only in Herodotus (2.17.2,  
2.147.2, and 7.7.1). In Diodorus the article is always present, and ἄπασαν is frequently used instead of  
πᾶσαν (e.g. 1.39.7, 1.55.12). Since line 2 would be short if it ended with Αἴγυπτον, the text may well  
have read ἄπασαν. Alternatively a space filler as in l. 6 may have been used.

7 αὐτή[ι]: presumably the scribe wrote αὐτῆι to agree with Αἴγυπτω in the preceding line,  
and the corrector preferred αὐτή[ι] as the subject of the verb οἰκοδόμησε. The corrected form—  
αὐτή ‘that woman’—is consistent with the presence of ἐαυτῆς later in the same clause.

8-10 μ[νη] | μεία τῆς δυνά[με] | ως ἐαυτῆς: although the concept is common, the phrase is rare.  
It finds a close parallel in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ characterization of Plato in *Comp.* 25: λόγους  
πολιτικοὺς μνημεία τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεως αἰώνια. The use of a pyramid as a memorial for a woman  
is not unique. Herodotus describes the pyramid built by Cheops’ daughter as a μνημῆιον (2.126), and  
Diodorus records that the Scythian warrior queen Zarinaea received a pyramid as a funeral monu-  
ment in recognition of her military prowess (2.34.3-5; see Gera, *Warrior Women* 84).

12 τροπ[αι] [ι]: a possible supplement is τροπ[αι]α; the last tiny trace in this line is perfectly com-  
patible with the shape of alpha in this script. This would suit the characterization of the pyramids as  
‘memorials of power’ in lines 8-10 (cf. Isoc. 5.112 τὰς ἐτήλας τὰς Ἡρακλέους καλουμένας ἐποίησατο,  
τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων, μνημείον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ and Plut. *Sull.* 19.5). If this is correct, the  
text would reflect a misunderstanding or fictionalization of the function of Egyptian pyramids, which  
is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in Greek sources. The main Greek tradition on Egypt knew that  
pyramids were tombs (Hdt. 2.124, D.S. 1.64.4 and 1.89.3, and Str. 17.1.33). Still, since the queen is not  
Egyptian, it is perhaps reasonable that her pyramids would have a non-Egyptian function. Pyramid-  
trophies would also be an imaginative stretch, since traditional Greek trophies featured armour, but  
the use of pyramids as votive offerings or political monuments would fit the context here and might  
explain fr. 4 where something (pyramids?) is dedicated to the gods (for a survey of Greek trophies see  
B. Rabe, *Trophaia* (2008)).

## Fr. 4

'... the smaller ones of the pyramids and she dedicated them to the gods. For this reason they are called pyramids ... quite ...'

2 ἐλά[υ]ττους: the text has been corrected, and an initial ε is difficult palaeographically. Still, ἐλάττους would make good sense, indicating either small pyramids or small pyramid shaped objects, e.g. cakes (see above, introd.) or models. Herodotus and Strabo use this word to describe the smallest of the Giza pyramids (Hdt. 2.134.1; Str. 17.1.33; cf. Plin. *NH* 36.82, who designates it *minimam*), which was sometimes attributed to the Egyptian queen Nitocris (Manetho *FGI* 609 F2, F3a, F3b) or the Greek courtesan Rhodopis (see C. Coche-Zivie, *BIAO* 72 (1972) 115–38; Gera, *Warrior Women*, 102). Diodorus also notes that smaller pyramids were built for Egyptian queens (1.64.10). It is thus possible that the adjective indicates the type of pyramid that was deemed appropriate for a woman.

4 ἀνέθηκε: the object of this verb is not immediately expressed in the extant text and can therefore be something that has already been mentioned or a short word in the lacuna after line 3. The most apparent candidate is ἐλάττους (l. 2).

5 διὰ τοῦτο: lines 5–6 suggest another explanation or a conclusion of the aetiological discussion in fr. 1, which would reasonably be introduced by καὶ διὰ τοῦτο.

7 ]ίει: since the beginning of line 7 is probably missing only one letter, we could restore εἰεί, which would produce the sense: 'the pyramids are even quite ...'. Although the phrase εἰεί δὲ πάνυ καὶ does not appear elsewhere, δὲ πάνυ is commonly found in second position in a sentence, and εἰεί δὲ καὶ can begin a sentence. Thus, the two expressions might have been conflated to produce εἰεί δὲ πάνυ καὶ. Since there is room at the end of line 6 for several letters, πυραμ]ίει is also an option, although μ in line 7 would be tight.

θ ]: if the reconstruction of εἰεί at the beginning of the line is correct and if the subject is still the pyramids, this word is probably an adjective or noun describing them, e.g. θαυμαστός or θαῦμα (the last visible trace would be perfectly compatible with an alpha in this script). Note that the pyramids are listed among the Seven Wonders of the World; see D.S. 2.1.1–2 (ἐξῆς δὲ κατετάχθησαν αἱ κατασκευαὶ τῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἀναγραφομένων ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ θαυμαζομένοις ἔργοις); AG 8. 177, 1–2 (ἑπτὰ βίοιο πέλει τάδε θαύματα: τείχος, ἄγαλμα / κήπος, πυραμίδες, νηός, ἄγαλμα, τάφος).

## Fr. 5

2 ] ουκικους: μουκικους is tempting, but it is difficult to see how this would fit into the context and the letters could be grouped differently.

Y. TRNKA-AMRHEIN



### III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

#### 5265. THEOGNIS, *ELEGIES* 1117-40

25 3B.61/C (c)

17.3 × 2 cm

Second/third century  
Plate I

A long, thin strip from a papyrus sheet, written along the fibres. A bottom margin is preserved, measuring 4.4 cm, which suggests the original roll was formatted elegantly; see W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 130-36. The back contains traces of a document in a very cursive hand.

This smallish hand is of the 'Formal Mixed' type, sloping gently to the right, and datable to the late second or early third century: the narrowness of ο, c, and ω, all of which often sit high upon the line, is distinct when adjacent to broad η, μ, and ν; ω nearly loses its central element in a few places; c sometimes presents a flat top. A consistency of broad vs. narrow letters, however, is wanting; θ and ε tend to occupy a full square space, while η, ν, and π are sometimes more square than broad. The hand also moves with a light rapidity creating curvature, roundness, and a distinct shading between thin and thick strokes: letters often touch, especially the horizontal elements of ε and τ; the uprights of broad letters often bear a slight curve, and π sometimes has serifs at its feet; and γ is irregular with a sinuous tail. The descenders of φ, ρ, γ, and ι dip below the line. For somewhat comparable hands and letter shapes, see Roberts, *GLH* 20a (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 84), XLV 3238, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 31 and 32, and Schubart, *PGB* 29a (BKT V.2 6-8 = P. Berol. inv. 9810).

From what remains, *scriptio plena* is consistent, iota adscript is not present, and there are no lectional signs.

Only two papyrus fragments of Theognis, or *Theognidea*, have been previously published, XXIII 2380 (third century, preserving 254-78) and BKT IX 124 (second century, preserving 917-33), first published as unknown by H. Maehler, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 163-5, but later identified by R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 1-5. As the third papyrus fragment to come to light, 5265 further supports an early dating of the Theognidean sylloge. Put simply, the sylloge preserves only eight passages quoted under Theognis' name in the fourth century BC (14, 21-2, 33-6, 77-8, 125-6, 177, 183-90, 434-8), indicating a collection of Theognis that is most likely distinct from the compilation of different poets that has been passed down, which includes elegy composed by Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon, and Euenus of Paros. When the sylloge was formed after the fourth century and when its sequence of elegies became ascribed solely to Theognis remain in question; for the most recent discussion on the various theories of arrangement and previous scholarship, see L. Ferreri, 'Le citazioni di Teognide in Stobeo e il problema della formazione della silloge

teognidea', in G. Reydam-Schils (ed.), *Thinking Through Excerpts: Studies on Stobaeus* (2011) 267–338. Be that as it may, once again we not only have a fragment that displays a sequence of text exactly as it appears in the mediaeval transmission, but also a run of twenty four lines. The position of A. Peretti, that the sylloge is a gnommic anthology assembled sometime between the sixth and ninth century AD (see A. Peretti, *Teognide nella tradizione gnomologica* (1953)) is indeed, as long suspected, untenable. Although Peretti has contributed a great deal of scholarship on how the patterns of gnomological anthologies, beginning in the Hellenistic period, influenced the composition of the *Theognidea*, the papyri of the second and third centuries AD confirm the antiquity of the manuscript tradition; an idea supported early on by J. Carrière in his Budé edition of 1948 (revised in 1975). Moreover, the hypothetical model of the sylloges's history devised by M. L. West, the journey from a fourth-century BC text of only Theognis to compiled *Theognidea*, is further validated in West's hypothesis that the sylloge was formed as early as the first century AD (see M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (1974) 55–9). **5265**, **2380**, and BKT IX 124, as early evidence of the sylloge's structure, require at least an organization and compositional date of the first century AD for copying and dissemination. Still, the collection could be older. For the possibility that the bulk of its structure may have been organized as early as the late fifth century BC, see E. Bowie, 'An Early Chapter in the History of the *Theognidea*', in X. Riu and J. Portulas (eds.), *Approaches to Archaic Greek Poetry* (2012) 121–48.

The text passed down as Theognis is divided into two books, *ἐλεγείων α'* and *ἐλεγείων β'*; though Book 2, verses 1231–389, is considered to be a later creation, sometime after the ninth century AD (see especially West, *Elegy and Iambus* 43–5 and M. Vetta, *Theognis elegiarum liber secundus* (1980); but most recently against this, Bowie, 'An Early Chapter' 132–44). The difficult task of isolating Theognis from the other poets, through either quotations from the fourth century BC or elegy containing *Κύρνε* or *Πολυπαῖδη*, has resulted in dividing the transmitted text of Book 1 into sections. West's division and designations are usually cited: *Florilegium purum* 19–254, *Excerpta meliora* 255–1022, *Excerpta deteriora* 1023–1220 (Ferrari, however, rejects West's theory of *florilegia*; see F. Ferrari, *Teognide, Elegie: Introduzione, traduzione e note (testo greco a fronte)* (1989) 8 n. 9). As opposed to the pure Theognis at 19–254, **5265** preserves lines 1117 to 1140, couplets from the so-called 'deteriora', elegy compiled and transmitted from a diminished anthology; as West observes, the repetition of certain couplets found in the preceding and better composed 'meliora' suggest that this stretch of elegiacs stems from an independent compilation from the same source (West, *Elegy and Iambus* 41–64). This particular sequence of elegy contains possibly six excerpted poems, of which one at 1133–4 is attributable to Theognis through the vocative *Κύρνε* (supplied *exempli gratia* through manuscript consensus). The papyrus bears no trace of *ekthesis* or *eisthesis*, unlike that argued for **2380** (see M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 178–9), nor is there the interlinear *ἄλλο*

that we see in the epigrams of Posidippus (P. Louvre 7172 (= P. Firmin-Didot 28-34)) and P. Bagnall 37. If units of elegy were marked, marginal notation or paragraphi were used. Stobaeus also provides indirect evidence for 1129-32 (περὶ γήρωσ 4.50.43) and 1135 (περὶ ἐλπίδος 4.46.12).

For collation materials, I have mostly relied on West's edition in *Iambi et elegi graeci* i-ii (<sup>2</sup>1989-92). The two most important manuscripts for Theognis are Parisinus suppl. gr. 388 (= A) of the tenth century and Vaticanus gr. 915 (= O) of the later thirteenth. The rest are derived from two manuscripts that have not survived; the first (= *o*) existed before O, while the subsequent text of Maximus Planudes (= *p*) is the parent from which all later manuscripts stem. How editors articulate this through a stemma varies, and I have chosen West for the simple clarity of his. Nevertheless, Carrière's Budé (1948, revised 1975), Young's Teubner (1971), Van Groningen (1966), and Bergk's *Poetae lyrici graeci* (1878) have been consulted. For reconstruction of the text, *exempli gratia*, I rely mostly, as nearly all editors, on reports of A.

Beyond the fragment's importance in further isolating a plausible date of the sylloge's formation, the papyrus renews discussion over meter at 1136 and sheds a flicker of light on a long-standing corruption at 1128.

I am grateful to Prof. E. Bowie, Prof. G. Ucciardello, and Dr C. Meccariello for reading and commenting on earlier drafts.

Πλουτε θεων καλ]λις[τ]ε [και ιμεροεστατε παντων  
 συν σοι και κακος]ων γ[ινεται εσθλος ανηρ  
 ηβης μετρον ε]χοιμι φ[ιλοι δε με Φοιβος Απολλων  
 1120 Αητοιδης και] Ζευς αθ[ανατων βασιλευς  
 οφρα δικη ζω]οιμι κα[κων εκτοςθεν απαντων  
 ηβη και πλου]τω θυμ[ον ιαινομενος  
 μη με κακων] μιμν[ησκε πεπονθα τοι οια τε Οδυσσευς  
 ος τε Αιδεω μεγα] δωμα [ηλυθεν εξαναδυς  
 1125 ος δη και μνη]στηρα[ς ανειλετο νηλει θυμω  
 Πηνελοπης ευ]φρων [κουριδης αλοχου  
 η μιν δηθα υπε]μεινε [φιλω παρα παιδι μενουσα  
 οφρα τε γης επ]εβη δα|  
 εμπιομαι πεν]ιης θυ[μοφθορου ου μελεδαινων  
 1130 ουδε ανδρων ε]χθρων [οι με λεγουσι κακως  
 αλλα ηβην ερα]την ολοφ[υρομαι η με επιλειπει  
 κλαιων δε αργαλ]εον γηρα[ς επερχομενον  
 Κυρνε παρου]σι φιλοις[ι κακου καταπαυσομεν αρχην  
 ζητωμεν δε] ελκει φα]ρμακα φυομενω

- 1133 Ελπις εν ανθ]ρωποις μ[ονη θεος εκθλη ενεστιν  
 αλλοι δε Ουλυμ]πον εκπ[ρολιποντες εβαν  
 ωχετο μεν Πις]τις μεγα[λη θεος ωχετο δε ανδρων  
 ωφροσυνη Χ]αριτες τε [ω φιλε γην ελιπον  
 ορκοι δε ουκετι] πιστοι εν [ανθρωποις δικαιοι  
 1140 ουδε θεους ουδε]ις αζετα[ι αθανατους

1117 καλ]λις[τ]ε with MSS. Restoration is not without difficulty. Traces of ink at line bottom possibly reveal the right curving tail of λ, the vertical stroke of ι and the lower arc of ε.

1118 γ]ινεται with A<sup>o</sup>: γίγνομαι ρ. Lines 1117–18 are read as an excerpted couplet; the first person is most likely a later alteration to establish continuity with ἔχοιμι in the following line.

1121 [δικη] restored *exempli gratia* with A: βίον ο. Most editors favor δίκη, whereas βίον finds support in Carrière and Bergk. βίον as a cognate accusative with ζῶ, equivalent to βίω, is found as early as Homer (*Od.* 15.491), as is the adverbial use of the dative δίκη (*Il.* 23.542). Both readings are cogent, despite the nuance, and space would accommodate either.

ζω]οιμι with A<sup>o</sup>ρ: εῶοιμι I.

1123 μιμ]ησκε: μίμνηκ' ἐπέπονθα A: μέμνησθε ο. This rare instance of the present imperative active singular of μίμνησκω is confirmed; the perfect imperative middle is by far the most documented, while the aorist and present middle are found in Homer. Van Groningen suggests a conative nuance (*Theognis: Le Premier Livre* (1966) 410).

1124 [Αιδεω] restored *exempli gratia* with A: αἰδου ο. As West notes, to what extent early elegists of mainland Greece observed the differences between Attic and Ionic dialects is difficult to determine (West, *Elegy and Iambus* 77–92), and thus rejection solely on the grounds of later Attic intrusion lacks certainty. The epic Ionic form appears elsewhere in *Theognis*, cf. 726 and 802.

μεγα] δωμα restored *exempli gratia* with MSS. The function of μέγα δῶμα, whether to be taken with ἔξαναδύς or ἤλυθεν, has provoked emendation. Radermacher's conjecture of μεγάρων is refuted. The papyrus cannot comment on Sitzler's emendation of μέγα to μετὰ.

1125 [ανειλετο] restored *exempli gratia* with ο: ανεϊλατο A. The intrusion of first aorist endings into the inflexion of the second aorist is common in documentary papyri of the Roman period, as well as evident in the development of the Koine, see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) 317–19 and Gignac, *Grammar* ii 335–45. Only Young adopts the reading of A.

[θυμω] restored *exempli gratia* with A: χαλκῶ ο. Both are found with νηλέϊ in epic poetry. With θυμῶ cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.272, 287, 368. Two instances with χαλκῶ should be noted: Hom. *Od.* 4.73 and especially Hes. *Th.* 316 καὶ τὴν μὲν Διὸς υἱὸς ἐνήρατο νηλέϊ χαλκῶ.

1126 ευ]φρων restored with A: ἔμφρων ο. εὐφρων is the favoured reading, though Carrière supports ἔμφρων. Van Groningen rejects ἔμφρων for not being Homeric (Van Groningen, *Theognis* 411), while T. H. Williams offers a more grammatical defence (*The Elegies of Theognis* (1919) 240).

1127 [η μιν] restored *exempli gratia* with A: ἡ μὲν ο. Editors favour the relative clause and its Ionic pronoun, which creates an anaphora with the two preceding relative clauses. Confusion between μὲν and μιν, which then further introduced the change from ἡ to ἠ, is a plausible scenario; though emphatic μὲν (see Denniston, *GP* 359–61) followed by ὄφρα is not uncommon in Homer.

[παρα] restored *exempli gratia* with A: πρὸς ο. μένω with παρὰ παιδί in the specific context of Penelope and Telemachus is found at *Od.* 11.178 and 19.525. The exact phrase cannot be paralleled with πρὸς, though for the construction cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 33 μένω πρὸς ἀγναίς ἐσχάταις δυοῖν θεαῖν.

1128 επ]εβη δα[: δειλαλεους A: δειμαλέους ο. The left half of a triangular λ is clear, excluding the transmitted text, as well as conjectures faithful to the initial δε- sequence: Sitzler δειν' ἀλίους τε

μυχούς and Young δείλ' ἀλίους τε μυχοῦς. Instead, α recalls our attention to conjectures based upon δαιδαλέος: Wassenbergh ὄφρ' Ἰθάκης ἐπέβη δαιδαλέου τε μυχοῦ, Empereius Ἰθάκης ἐπέβη δαιδαλέοιο μυχοῦ οἱ ὄφρα τέγης ὑπέβη δαιδαλέοιο τε μυχοῖς, and Haupt (*Opuscula* i (1875) 265) ὄφρ' ἦς γῆς ἐπέβη δαιδαλέου τε λέχους. As Williams notes, the expression γαίης ἐπιβήμεναι is Homeric and used in the context of Ithaca and Odysseus' potential return home, cf. *Od.* 7.196 and 11.166-7 (Williams, *The Elegies of Theognis* 240). The second hemiepes, however, remains elusive. Besides the possibility of typical error/s in copying, the corrupt δειμαλέου τε μυχοῦς of the mediaeval mss. also suggests confusion over construction (ἐπιβαίνω + gen. or acc.) and declension (acc. pl. -ου vs. contracted gen. sg. -ου). Ferrari strongly believes that Haupt has securely corrected the text (Ferrari, *Theognide* 262-3 n. 2). Nevertheless, perhaps a less invasive version of Haupt is also suitable: ὄφρα τε γῆς ἐπέβη δαιδαλέου τε λέχους; for the second hemiepes, cf. *Od.* 10.347 καὶ τότε ἔγω Κίρκης ἐπέβην περικαλλέος εὐνῆς (in referencing the famous entrapment of Ares and Aphrodite by Hephaestus, as told at *Od.* 8.256-366, perhaps we should also note Lucian *DDeor.* 21.1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβησαν τοῦ λέχους κτλ.).

1129 [ἐμπιομαι] restored *exempli gratia* with A: ἐλπίομαι O: εἰ πίομαι ρ: οὔτε γε μὴν Stobaeus. Understood as the first person present of ἐμπίνω, ἐμπίομαι, with first ι short instead of long, is favoured by most editors. But as the only instance of the present middle, as opposed to the well-attested present middle of πίνω, it has been subject to emendation: Ahrens εὐ πίομαι. For the sense of ἐμπίνω here, to 'drink deep', commentators note *Ar. Pax* 1143 and *Ec.* 142. Stobaeus' quotation (περὶ γῆρας 4.50.43) would produce a small *ekthesis*. As noted in the introduction, if the first verse of a different poem was marked, the papyrus suggests another method was used.

[οὐ μελεδαινῶν] restored with A: οὐ μελεδαίνω ο: μελεδαίνω Stobaeus. Editors oscillate. The participle tends to accompany ἐμπίομαι, while the finite form would follow εἰ πίομαι. West deviates and incorporates both indicative forms by placing a τελεία στιγμή after ἐμπίομαι.

1132 ἀργαλ]εον with MSS.

γηρα[ς ἐπερχομενοι. Stripped fibres have left faint and illegible traces of ink. I have restored *exempli gratia* with MSS.

1135 ἀνθ]ρωποισι μ[ονη with MSS: ἀνθρώποις μούνη Stobaeus. The ink is quite faded after π, and οισι μ[ is read with difficulty. Stobaeus' reading has found some acceptance, if μούνη is read as a latter Attic intrusion (Van Groningen, *Theognis* 414-15). The removal or unintended loss of the final ι of ἀνθρώποισι would require a subsequent long vowel, easily generating μούνη.

1136 Οὐλυμ]πον ἐκπ[ρολιποντες. Either the reading of the MSS is defended, or the error is quite old. Camerarius' emendation to Οὐλυμπόνδ' is favoured. Yet the joined enclitic δε, 'motion towards', is neither required with βαίνω, nor is there perhaps a metrical problem. As commentators observe, the final syllable of Οὐλυμπον could be lengthened, if one accepts vowel lengthening at the caesura. In the sylloge, cf. 2 λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαυόμενος; see also M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 46 and 38. For βαίνω and the accusative of place, cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.162 οἱ μὲν ἀποστρέψαντες ἔβαν νέας ἀμφιέλισσας. Leutsch's conjecture of Οὐλυμπον γῆν προλιπόντες is refuted. Only Van Groningen accepts MSS consensus.

1139 ἐν [ἀνθρωποισι δίκαιοι restored *exempli gratia* with MSS. The syntax has provoked emendation: Peppmüller emended ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι to ἀνδράσιν οὐδὲ δίκαιοι; Leutsch proposed ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδίκους; Carrière has suggested δικάοις. Debate hinges upon how one reads the adjectives δίκαιος and πιστός. Epithet or predicate?

J. H. BRUSUELAS

**5266. SOPHOCLES, *PHILOCTETES* 104-7, 109-32, 151, 155-81**

II 1B.156/C(b)

Fr. 3 11.2 × 15.8 cm

Fifth century  
Plates VI-VII

A larger fragment (fr. 3) and two smaller ones stemming from the same leaf of a papyrus codex. On the ↓ fr. 3 preserves a left-hand margin of ca. 1.5 cm and a lower margin of 2 cm; on the → it shows a lower margin of 1.6 cm and an uneven right-hand margin up to 6 cm.

Fr. 2+3 ↓ contain vv. 109-32 of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, and their → side vv. 155-81, with a lacuna between 161 and 177. The 22 lines between 132 and 155 missing at the top of fr. 2+3 → (only one, 151, is preserved in fr. 1) would occupy about 14.5 cm, and this would give a total height of the written column plus margins (assuming an upper margin slightly shorter or of the same height as the lower one) of about 31 cm. The expected width of the iambic trimeter (about 12 cm) plus side margins of 1.5 each would give a total width of 15 cm. Therefore, the papyrus may belong to Turner's Group 8 (height = 2 × width), if it measured c. 15 × 30 cm, or Group 5, if it measured 18 × 30 cm (*Typology* 16-20).

The extant part of fr. 2+3 ↓ has 24 lines. If we assume an equal number of lines on the corresponding →, we must concede that the missing section 162-76, from the parodos, occupied only 12 lines, and not 14 as in modern editions (15 in the mediaeval manuscript Laurentianus 32.9, L). Thus the papyrus seems to have had a slightly different line division; 167-8 and 172-3, for example, might have been written as single lines, as in some of the mediaeval manuscripts (e.g. Laur. 31.1 and 32.2).

We can further calculate that a full page contained 46 lines. Since the first 86 lines of the play are missing before the page to which fr. 2+3 ↓ belong, it is likely that the first page of the codex had only 40 lines preceded by an initial title or brief introductory material (although variation in number of lines per page cannot be excluded; see Turner, *Typology* 9). A similar layout is found in P. Cair. inv. 43227 (firstly published by M. G. Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre* (1907) and *Papyrus de Ménandre* (1911)), a papyrus codex dated to the fourth/fifth century, where a metrical hypothesis and an *index personarum* precede the text of Menander's *Heros*: see most recently A. Blanchard, *Ménandre*, ii: *Le Héros; L'Arbitrage; La Tondue; La Fabula incerta du Caire* (2013) pp. xxxix-xlix and 10-11. In P. Bodm. IV, a third/fourth century codex, the text of Menander's *Dyscolus* is also preceded by introductory material, but the play starts on the second page, preceded by its title. Further, the very fragmentary codex P. Vindob. 29779 (W. Luppe, *Wiener Studien* NF 19 [98] (1985) 89-104), roughly contemporary with 5266, contains a series of Sophoclean hypotheses, including an otherwise unknown hypothesis of *Philoctetes*, and thus assures us that this type of subliterate text circulated in late antique Egypt. A list of characters, part of a hypothesis

of the type ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, and a brief plot summary in nine iambic trimeters are prefixed to the *Philoctetes* in L and other mediaeval manuscripts.

With 46 lines per page, and 40 lines on the first one, the entire *Philoctetes* would occupy 32 pages in this format. The possibility that the codex had multiple plays must be considered; this would be paralleled, for example, by the above mentioned P. Cair. inv. 43227, which contained several plays of Menander.

The script is a book-hand with traits of informality penned in brown ink. Roughly bilinear except for the long uprights of γ, ρ, φ (but also ι, τ, λ, χ often protrude below the baseline), it is written rapidly, with the letters often touching each other. The hand is rather regular, although some letters, such as κ and γ, do vary; the upper portion of c at line end is elongated in the last two lines of fr. 2+3 →. Slanting to the right, this handwriting may be described as a sloping pointed majuscule and dated to the fifth century: cf. XI 1373 (Cavallo-Maehler 17a, assigned to the middle or second half of fifth century), with which our papyrus shares a certain rigidity and individual letter shapes such as the squarish elongated o, the λ descending below the baseline, the narrow ε with very short lower stroke. 5266 also shows similarities with XI 1369 (Sophocles' *OT*), belonging to the same find of Byzantine classical fragments as 1373, and likewise dated to the fifth century.

The papyrus has no diacritical signs. The scribe tacitly elides words (e.g. 114, 122) and writes adscript ι (151). A iotacism occurs in 132. The paragraphus is used accurately to indicate change of speaker.

Seventeen papyri of extant Sophoclean tragedies, of which twelve certainly from Oxyrhynchus, have been published so far. On their philological contribution see P. J. Finglass, 'Il valore dei papiri per la critica testuale di Sofocle', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *I Papiri di Eschilo e di Sofocle* (2013) 33-51. Fragments of lost Sophoclean plays have been identified certainly or conjecturally in fourteen papyri (see the table included in G. Avezzi, 'I drammi satireschi di Sofocle', in *I Papiri di Eschilo e Sofocle* 57), eleven of which are collected in R. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (1974). 5266 is the second extant papyrus of the *Philoctetes* after P. Berol. inv. 17058 (K. Treu, *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum* 434-5, no. 3, dated to the fourth/fifth century). As papyrus codices of the early Byzantine period, they can be compared to XIII 1615 and BKT IX 112 (*Ajax*, fourth and fourth/fifth century respectively), I 22 and XI 1369 (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, fourth/fifth and fifth/sixth century respectively), and LII 3688 (*Trachiniae*, fifth/sixth century).

The text of 5266 mostly agrees with the mediaeval manuscripts, except for a few variants. If followed by the same sequence as in the manuscripts, ου γαρ for the manuscripts' οὐκ ἀρ' in 106 would be an unmetrical reading; likewise, the reading ποια instead of the dual ποίω in 118 is an unmetrical trivialization. In 130 the papyrus preserves the variant ου δη τέκνον συ ποικίλως for the manuscripts' οὐ δῆτα τέκνον ποικίλως, which is partially in agreement with a modern conjecture, Blaydes's οὐ δῆ συ τέκνον ποικίλως, and may well be the original reading. The

text is corrupted in 156, where the scribe seems to have omitted *o* in the sequence *ποθεν*, and in 177, where the metrically and semantically impossible *θανατων* may nevertheless derive from *θνατῶν*, the Doric form—preferable in a choral passage—of the manuscripts' reading *θνητῶν*.

The text is collated against the *OCT* by H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson (1990); the Teubner edition by R. D. Dawe (1985) has also been taken into account.

## Fr. 1 ↓

ουτ[ως εχει τι δεινον ισχυος θρακος  
 105 [ι]ους α[φυκτους και προπεμποντας φονον  
 ου γαρ [  
 ου μ[η δολωι λαβοντα γ ως εγω λεγω

## Fr. 2+3 ↓

ουκ ει το σωθηναι γε τ]ο ψευ[δ]ο[ς φερει.  
 110 πως ουν βλεπων τις] ταυτα τολ[μησει λακειν  
 οταν τι δ]ρας [ει]ς [κ]ερδος ουκ [οκνειν πρεπει  
 κερ[δ]ος δ εμ[ο]ι τι [τουτον ες Τροιαν μολειν  
 αιρει τα τοξ[α] τα[υτα την Τροιαν μονα  
 ουκ αρ ο π[ερσων ως εφασκετ ειμ εγω  
 115 ουτ αν συ [κεινων χωρις ουτ εκεινα σου  
 θηρατεα [  
 ως τουτο [γ ερξας δυο φερηι δωρηματα  
 ποια μ[αθων γαρ ουκ αν αρνοιμην το δραν  
 σοφο[ς τ αν αυτος καγαθος κεκληι αμα  
 120 ιτω ποη[σω πασαν αισχυνην αφεισ  
 η μνημ[ονευεις ουν α σοι παρηνεσα  
 σαφ ισθ [επειπερ εισαπαξ συνηνεσα  
 συ [μεν μενων νυν κεινον ενθαδ εκδεχου  
 εγω [δ απειμι μη κατοπτευθω παρων  
 125 και τ[ον σκοπον προς ναυν αποστελω παλιν  
 και δε[υρ εαν μοι του χρονου δοκητε τι  
 κατασχολ[αζειν αυθις εκπεμψω παλιν  
 τουτον τον α[υτον ανδρα ναυκληρου τροποισ  
 μορφήν δολωσα[ς] ως [αν] αγγ[οια προσηι  
 130 ου δη τεκνον συ ποικιλως αυδωμε[νου



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δεχου τα συμφεροντα των αι λοχ[ων  
 εγω δε προς ναυν μι ς[οι παρει]ς τ[αδε

Fr. 1 →

151 φρουρειν ομμ επι σω μαλιστα κα]ιρωι

Fr. 2+3 →

155 μαθειν ουκ απο]καιριον  
 μη με λαθηι προς]περων π(ο)θε|ν  
 τις τοπος η τις εδρα] τιν εχει στ[ι]βον  
 [εναυλον η θυραιον]  
 [οικον μεν οραις τονδ αμφιθυρο]ν  
 160 [πετρινης κοιτης]  
 [που γαρ ο τλημων αυτος απεστι]ν  
 [12 lines missing]  
 177 ω π]αλα[μ]αι θανατων  
 ω δ]υστανα γενη βροτων  
 οικ] μη μετριος αιων  
 180 ουτο]ς π[ρωτο]γ[ον]ων ιωω  
 οικων ουδενο]ς υστ[ερ]ος

Fr. 1 ↓

105 α[φυκτους restored *exempli gratia* with MSS consensus. The trace, suggesting a sloping upright (cf. the α in 118), is also compatible with ρ and thus with Dobree's *ιουε* (γ') *αφύκτους*, a generally accepted adjustment, but see R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments*, iv: *The Philoctetes* (1898) ad loc., for a defense of the paradosis.

106 ου γαρ: οὐκ ἄρ' ἐκείνω γ' οὐδέ προσμείξαι θρασύ MSS. If followed by *εκείνω* like οὐκ ἄρ' in the MSS, οὐ γὰρ would be unmetrical. The interchange of voiced and voiceless stops is however very frequent in papyri (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 76-80) and might provide a simple explanation for the mistake. Alternatively, assuming further variance in what followed, a question starting with οὐ γὰρ, which 'often introduces an indignant report' (Jebb, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments*, vii: *The Ajax* (1896) ad v. 1320), would be paralleled in *Aj.* 1320, 1348, *El.* 1477, *OT* 1017, *Ant.* 21, *Phil.* 249.

Fr. 2+3 ↓

109-11 The remains of these lines are preserved on a separate scrap (fr. 2).

110 [λακείν] restored with L: λαλείν majority of MSS.

111 [ει]ς restored with LSrζ: ἐς α: πρὸς Vt.

112 δ εμ]οι is compatible with both δ' ἐμοί (ISVrζ) and δέ μοι (α). There is uncertainty, since the scribe tacitly elides.

114 π[ερων restored with most MSS: πέρων γ' α.

[εφακετ] restored with most MSS: ἔφακεε GR.

116 θηρατεα. [: θηρατέ' οὖν γένοιτ' τ: θηρατέα γίγνοιτ' LSVra: θηρατέα γένοιτ' z: θηρατέ' ἄν γίγνοιτ' Elmsley. Dawe also reports the reading θηρατέα γούν γένοιτ' of Zo (Vat. Pal. gr. 287, 14th century), belonging to Lloyd-Jones and Wilson's z family. After θηρατεα only a vertical stroke is preserved in the papyrus, compatible with τ and thus with all extant readings except θηρατέ(a) οὖν (which may well be a conjecture by Triclinius). The upright before the break is also compatible with η and thus with Elmsley's emendation θηρατέ' ἄν, since the scribe does not write in *scriptio plena* and does not mark elisions. The line θηρατεα γίγνοιτ' (or γένοιτ') ἄν εἰπερ ὦδ εχει as transmitted by most manuscripts is unmetrical, because the context suggests that the first word must be taken as θηρατεᾶ (referring to the bow, τὰ τόξα in v. 113 and ἐκεῖνα in v. 115), but a long element is required in fourth position. A glossa included in G. Dindorf's *scholia recentiora* (*Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem* (1852) 239) takes it as θηρατεᾶ, which would refer to Troy, named in vv. 112 and 113 (δυνατὴ ληφθῆναι, ἦγουν ἢ Τροία), but cf. L's scholium ληπτέα, ἄξια τοῦ θηραθῆναι (although we cannot be sure that the sequence did not gloss a term taken as feminine, sc. ἄξια, in a previous, unaccented source).

118 ποια: ποίω MSS. The papyrus reading is an unmetrical trivialization; cf. L's scholium ποία, δυικῶς.

[το δραν] restored with most MSS: τὸ μὴ δρᾶν GR.

119 [κεκλητι] restored with LZo: κέκλης' majority of MSS.

120 ποη[εω] restored with L: ποιήεω majority of MSS. There is trace of an upright on the edge, compatible with both η and ι, allowing the restoration of either mediaeval variant.

122 [ευνηνεεα] restored with most MSS: ξυνήνεεα Zgt.

123 [νυν] and [κεινον] restored with most MSS: the former is omitted by family τ, which also reads ἐκείνον with τ.

127 [αὐθις] restored with Szaz: αὐτικ IV.

128 [τροποις] restored with most MSS: τρόπον zt.

130 ου δη τεκνον εϋ ποικιλως: οὐ δῆτα τέκνον ποικίλως MSS: οὐ δῆ εὐ τέκνον ποικίλως Blaydes. The papyrus is very close to this conjecture but preserves a different word order. Both readings are metrically possible, and both δῆτα and δῆ are well attested in tragedy. However, the emphatic δῆτα after a relative pronoun is rare (cf. S. L. Schein, *Sophocles: Philoctetes* (2013) ad loc.). The new reading εϋ, on the other hand, puts more emphasis on the double game Odysseus wants Neoptolemus to play, while also asserting distance between the latter and Philoctetes, and thus seems to provide a slightly stronger text. For a close parallel in the play, see vv. 878–9. δῆτα might have originated as dittography, since the letter that follows δη is τ in either reading. The sequence τα in the following line may also have prompted a misreading, which would then have been fixed by omitting the personal pronoun; or an accidental omission of the latter could have been fixed by changing δῆ to δῆτα. On the other hand, haplography and insertion of εϋ for the sake of metre may explain, perhaps less likely, the opposite process.

132 μι: ι. εμι.

Fr. 2+3 →

156 μη με λαθη προς]περτων π(ο)θε[ν: the papyrus seems to have the word order of the manuscripts and not Hermann's necessary transposition of προςπερτων after μη. The omission of ο in π(ο)θε[ν may be a slip of the eye in copying a sequence of similarly shaped letters (οθε).

157 τις τοπος η τις εδρα] τιν εχει ετ[ι]βον: the reading of the papyrus agrees with all manuscripts and does not confirm Herwerden's conjecture τις ετίβος ἢ τις εἶδρα; τιν' ἔχει τόπον.

177 θανατων: θνητων MSS: θεων Lachmann (corresponding to -ετομος in 188). The papyrus reading does not make sense semantically, nor is satisfying metrically. It could perhaps be a corruption of the Doric form θνατων, semantically equivalent to the manuscripts' θνητων, but preferable in a choral context (cf. v. 682). As parallels for παλάμαι θνητων/θνατων one may quote Simon. 581.6

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PMG βρότεοι παλάμαι, Ibyc. 321.2 PMG παλάμαις βροτῶν, Theogn. 623–4 ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἕσσι . . . βιότου παλάμαι; for the possibility of a heavy close in resposion with a blunt close in dodrans and glyconics, see T. B. L. Webster, *Sophocles: Philoctetes* (1970) 82; K. Itsumi, *CQ* 34 (1984) 75.

179 [οικ] restored with MSS, but οικι (*Suda*) cannot be excluded.

181 [οικων] restored with all MSS: ἦκων is a singular variant of the *Suda* (cod. E).

S. BOCKSBERGER / C. MECCARIELLO

5267. POLYBIUS, HISTORIES 28.2.5–7

38 3B.81/O (2)b

4 × 7.4 cm

Second century  
Plate I

Fragment of a roll, written along the fibres. Exiguous remains of a left margin are assumed at line 7, and thus reconstruction of column width is by conjecture, with an average of about 17 letters per line. The back is blank.

This medium-sized script is of the 'Formal Round' type, generally bilinear, although the descenders of ρ and γ dip slightly below the line. As expected with hands of this style, letters are upright, round, and tend to occupy a square space on the line: c, ω, and ε are especially well rounded; μ is deep and in three movements; serifs appear on the feet of ρ, ν, τ, κ, and ι; and the top arc of ε is closed in the 'epsilon-theta' style. Extraneous ink traces possibly suggest a flawed nib; in 8 (γ), 11 (ε), and 12 (τ) individual strokes are nearly split in two. Neither lectional signs nor use of iota adscript is observable.

5267 bears the same hand as that found in P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570, assigned to the second century and preserving *Histories* 11.13.8–16.8 (see L. S. Preite, 'Polibio XI 13–16 in P. Berol. Inv. 9570 + P. Ryl. I 60', *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 17 (2008) 15–39). Besides the overt similarity, the same column width, an average of 17 letters per line, is present. To judge from the published images, P. Ryl. I 60 also shows similar strokes slightly split in two, suggesting the same pen, but this feature is not observable in the images of P. Berol. 9570. There are also a few subtle differences: the shape of γ is slightly different and there are fewer decorative elements. Considering the distance between Book 11 and 28, 5267 and P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570 suggest the possibility of a set of rolls containing the complete *Histories*, and so we should also consider the possibility that the 'same' hand is not limited to one scribe, but perhaps more than one or even a master and apprentice (on sets of rolls containing works of the same author, see D. Colomo, 'Osservazioni sullo scriba ossirinichita dell'omega quadrangolare (Johnson A2)', *Segno e testo* 6 (2008) 27–30).

5267 is datable to the second century not simply based on the dating of P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570, but also on similarities with Roberts, *GLH* 11b (AD 94). This stylized hand is also easily comparable with the second century scripts found in V 844 (Isocrates; plate in G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro* (2005), Tav. xxxvi; CPF

IV.2 Tavole (I.2 Galenus–Isocrates) no. 111) and X 1246 (Thucydides), which are assigned to ‘Scribe#A1’ in Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 17. We should also note that with regard to dating 844 G. Cavallo (‘Osservazioni palcografiche sul canone e la cronologia della cosiddetta “onziale romana”’, *ANSP* ser. II, 36 (1967) 214 (= *Il calamo e il papiro* 155)) has argued for the earlier rather than the latter half of the second century, which is accepted in the CPF I.2\*\*, Galenus–Isocrates, no. 84, 754. From the tax-list written on the back of P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570 (see Wilcken, *APF* 1 (1901) 388–9) the *terminus ante quem* is AD 276 (reign of Tacitus); such a carefully produced roll, or rolls, appears to have been recycled around 100–150 years later.

To date, only P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570 has been securely published as Polybius. However, despite the palaeographical connection, that fragment comes not from Oxyrhynchus but the Arsinoite nome. The set of rolls in question were thus either produced at Oxyrhynchus and at some point brought to the Arsinoite nome and reused for tax purposes, or produced in the Arsinoite nome and then one or more rolls at some point reached Oxyrhynchus. Such movement is not unique. M. Lama, ‘Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco: copie letterarie su rotoli documentari’, *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 55–120, cites examples of reused documents from Arsinoites found in Oxyrhynchus. There is also the parallel of a scribe (‘Scribe#A31’ in Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 27) whose work, in this case two plays of Aristophanes, has been found in two different places: Oxyrhynchus (LVI 3839) and Karanis (P. Mich. inv. 6035). Nevertheless, retracing the path of these fragments back to their point of origin is problematic. As for the agents involved, Lama speaks of the mobility of officials (i.e. members of the well-educated elite) that by law could not hold an office in their own nome (Lama, ‘Aspetti di tecnica libraria’). More recently, N. Litinas, ‘Reading Aristophanes Amid the Sands of Egypt’, *CE* 89 (2014) 335–6, observes that both Roman veterans and Egyptian priests and officials are known to have been owners of Greek literary papyri. W. A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* (2010) 180–85, has also noted the sharing of books among literate groups. And, of course, another possibility is the presence of an itinerant scribe and/or bookseller (see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 158–60). In conceptualizing the movement of Greek texts within Egypt there are many variables.

5267 is not simply the next fragment of Polybius, but the second to reveal a glimpse of the *Histories* before it was epitomized. Of the forty volumes comprising the original work, the mediaeval manuscripts of Polybius preserve only books 1–5 in their entirety. The remaining bulk—and a few books are still known only through the indirect tradition—are excerpts, grouped into two categories: the *Excerpta antiqua* (fifty manuscripts covering portions of books 6–18) and the *Excerpta historica* (nineteen manuscripts containing excerpts from almost all the *Histories*, especially books 20–39); see J. M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius*

(1965) and F. W. Walbank, 'Polybius' Last Ten Books', in *Historiographia Antiqua: Commentationes Lovanienses in honorem S. Peremans septuagenarii editae* (1977) 139-62. While it remains unknown when the *Excerpta antiqua* was produced, let alone if it epitomized the entire *Histories* or just selections, we are better informed about the *Excerpta historica* (though on the *Excerpta antiqua* as a collection possibly designed for military education or guidance, see W. E. Thompson, 'Fragments of the Preserved Historians—Especially Polybius', in *The Greek Historians: Literature and History; Papers presented to A. E. Raubitschek* (1965) 119-39). More commonly known as the 'Constantine Excerpts', it was produced by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century to encourage historical study (Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition* 126-66). Divided into 53 thematic titles, this collection contained passages from both Classical and Byzantine historians. Only six titles have survived: *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, *de Sententiis*, *de Insidiis*, *de Strategematis*, *de Legationibus gentium ad Romanos*, *de Legationibus Romanorum ad gentes*. Concerning a request to the Roman Senate by an embassy from Rhodes to import corn from Sicily, the epitomized text of 5267 was placed under the heading *de Legationibus gentium ad Romanos*.

Only twelve lines are preserved, of which the initial four are terribly fragmented. The remaining eight reflect the epitome more faithfully. In the latter, the papyrus nearly confirms a modern emendation at 4; the word order preserved is different.

For collation materials, and supplementation of the text *exempli gratia*, I have relied on the Teubner of Büttner-Wobst (1882-1904), but Hultsch (1867-71) and Sintenis (1874-79) have also been consulted.

\* \* \* \* \*

]ο[ (28.2.5-7)

]τιμ[.] αντ[

]γειν την[

c]υνεχωρης[ε c.8

5 ci]του δεκα μ[υριαδας

με]διμνων εξ[αγειν εκ

Σικελιας ταυτα [μεν ουν

η συγκλητος [εχρημα

τ]ικε δια των[ c.8

10 ων τοις των [Ροδιων πρεσ

βευταις ακ[ολουθως δε

και το[ις αλλοις

\* \* \* \* \*

1-4 The remains of these lines are incompatible with the corresponding passage of the epitome.

2 ]τιμ[ ] αντ[. A form of τιμάω suits the remaining letters rather well, perhaps ἐπι]τιμ[η]σαντ[ας, modifying or referring to the Rhodian πρεσβευτάς, or some other, for which a contextual parallel is found at 38.9.3ff. ἡ κύκλιος . . . πρεσβευτάς κατεστήσατο . . . καὶ τούτους ἐπεμπε δοῦσα τοιαύτας ἐντολάς, διότι δεῖ μετρίως ἐπιτιμήσαντας καὶ μεμψαμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι τὰ πλείον παρακαλεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κτλ.; the rather close proximity to the remains of an infinitive in the following line also suggests accusative and infinitive construction. Restoring ζ, however, is not easy; the exiguous trace of ink at the top of the line would indicate an arc left wide open, rather than curving downward like the rest. Here one would expect a more detailed narrative regarding the meeting between the Rhodians and the Senate, pertaining not only to corn shipments but also rumoured strife between pro-Roman and pro-Macedonian (i.e. pro-Perseus) factions on Rhodes.

3 ]νεμ την[. Alternatively ] νειν with a preceding angular letter: λ, δ, λ, or κ.

4 ε]ννεχωρησε[ε. The reading of the papyrus is unique, even though it confirms Hultsch's emendation to supply the missing verb in the MSS; with moveable ν he positioned it after *Κικελίας* (here in 7). Other conjectures, mostly posited after *Κικελίας* as well, are thus refuted: Ursinus ἀφήκαν, Reiske ἐφῆκε or εἶαε, Dindorf ἐφῆκαν, Cobetus ἔδωκαν, and Butner-Wobst δ' ἔδωκε (after *εἴτου*). The verb is probably in first position followed by a connecting particle. The remaining space could accommodate about eight letters, and there might be enough room to restore as ε]ννεχωρησε[ε δ αυτοις (assuming elision based on P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570); cf. 18.47.9.5, 22.15.4.2, and 30.17.3.1.

5 ε]του with Υ: εἴτον U\*. With δέκα μυριάδας, the genitive is correct.

δεκα with Υ: δε κα O. Ursinus δε δέκα is refuted.

8-9 [εχρημα][τ]ισε with Υ: ἐχρημάτησε O

9-11 δια των [ ε8 ] |ων τοις των [Ροδιων πρεσ]βευταις: διὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρεσβευτῶν Υ. The papyrus offers variance that further supports our view of the mediaeval text as corrupt. The mediaeval tradition probably skipped from the first τῶν to the second, and then changed πρεσβευταις to πρεσβευτῶν in order to make the short version grammatical. In the papyrus version 9-10 we need to restore a genitive, and the rules of syllable division show that 9 ended with a vowel. Possibly [ἐνα-ντι]ων (Parsons), 'through those opposed to the ambassadors'; cf. 28.2.4 κατὰ τῆς πόλεως.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

### 5268. STRABO, *GEOGRAPHICA* 1.2.31

101/218(c) part

4.5 × 5.3 cm

Second half of second century

A fragment of a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. A left margin, measuring 2 cm, has been preserved. The average number of letters per line is 20, suggesting a column width of about 6 cm. The back is blank.

The script is a carefully written specimen of the 'Formal Mixed' style, datable to the latter half of the second century. The scribe wrote upright letters slowly and separately. The rounded letters (ε θ ο ς) are consistently narrow and seem to float above the baseline, and the horizontal mid-stroke of ε extends towards the following letter. η, κ, π, τ, and γ are broad in comparison, but they do not exhibit the often exaggerated contrast between broad and narrow that typifies the so-called 'Severe Style'. λ is consistently angular and has a moderately sharp nose. The horizontal stroke of π extends beyond its vertical elements. The baseline is broken only slightly by the descenders of ρ, γ, and τ. For comparable hands, see I 26 (=

P. Lond. Lit. 129, Roberts *GLH* 19a) as well as XXXIV 2703 and LXIX 4736, both datable to the second half of the second century with fair certainty (cf. L. Del Corso, 'Lo "stile severo" nei P. Oxy: una lista', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 95). Iota adscript is employed and no punctuation is evident. A verse quotation in 1 is marked by *ekthesis* and a blank space after the last word.

Only a few sections from Strabo's *Geographica* have appeared in four other published papyri, all of which are from Oxyrhynchus: sections of Book 9 in XLIX 3447 (early second century), 2.5.20–24 in LXV 4459 (late second/third century; + PL/III 294A, ed. *Eirene* 32 (1996) 96–7), 5.4.12–13 in LXXIII 4947 (second/third century), and sections from Book 7 in P. Köln I 8 (second/third century). The Vatican palimpsest Vat. gr. 2306 and 2061A is a vellum copy of Strabo's *Geographica*, from the mid to late fifth century. None of these overlap with the text found in 5268, and it is the only papyrus with text from Book 1.

The text has been collated, and supplemented *exempli gratia*, with the edition of S. Radt, *Strabons Geographika i* (2002), though older editions have been consulted. The fragment does not offer any new readings.

καὶ] Λιβ[υην ζητοῦσι δὲ (2.31)  
 πρὸς [τινας ἦλθεν Αἰθιο  
 πας πλε[ων ἐξ Αἰγυπτου  
 [ο]υτε γὰρ ἐν [τῆι καθ ἡμας  
 3 θαλαττῆι οἰκοῦσι τινες  
 Αἰθιοπεσ οὐ[τε τῶι Νεῖλωι  
 τοὺς κ[αταρρακτας ἦν διελ

1 καὶ] Λιβ[υην. At the beginning, corner of a triangular letter. β is read with difficulty, only the faint remains of an oval shape at line bottom and a small trace of ink from the left-hand upper part of the letter. Λιβύην marks the end of Strabo's quotation from Hom. *Od.* 4.81–5. Lambda cannot be the beginning of the line. Since the preceding καὶ, restored with all of Strabo's and Homer's manuscripts, is slightly longer than required for an even left-hand margin, we must conclude that the line was in *ekthesis*, as is often the case for quotations of verse in prose works. A compelling parallel in Strabo's P. Köln I 8, ii 33–4, where the quotation of *Il.* 2.850 is marked by *ekthesis* and paragraphus. Moreover, letter count indicates that the end of the quotation must have been marked by a wide space after Λιβ[υην, possibly occupied by a mark of punctuation. For the use of both *ekthesis* and blank spaces to mark poetical quotations in prose texts see XX 2260 (first/second century) and P. Schubart 3 (W. Schubart, *APF* 14 (1941) 24–9, third century), both probably from Apollodorus' *Peri theon*, and III 410 (rhetorical treatise, second century).

6 [τῶι Νεῖλωι] supplemented with most manuscripts: τοῦ Νείλου ἀγί.

7 κ[αταρρακτας with inqs : καταράκτας BC : κα[ ]κτας A. The same orthographical oscillation can be observed for all occurrences of the word in Strabo's manuscripts. On the grounds of derivation from *καταρρήγνυμι* suggested in 17.1.49, Radt prefers the form with double ρ in all cases

except 11.14.13 and 14.4.1, where Strabo himself implies etymological connection with ἀράττω. Be that as it may, a search on the Papyrological Navigator reveals that this word and its derivative *Καταρακτίται* always have a single ρ in documentary papyri and ostraka: see SB XIV 11952 (second/first century BC); P. Brookl. 81 and P. Eleph. Wagner 20 (first century); BGU XIII 2257, SB XXIV 16081 and 16082 (second century).

C. CHEUNG

**5269. VIRGIL, AENEID VI 493-7, 528-32**

105/166(e)

11.4 × 7.3 cm

Fourth/fifth century  
Plate VIII

A fragment of a papyrus codex, preserving Virgil's *Aeneid* Book VI: on → 493-7, on ↓ 528-33. The fibres have sustained much damage and therefore the ink has been scratched away. A lower margin of c.3.5 cm is preserved on both sides, while a right margin of c.3.5 cm is preserved only on the ↓. There are 30 lines missing between → and ↓, indicating that the full page on ↓ contained 35 lines. The widest extant line measures about 9.4 cm; considering the expected extent of its missing part, we can estimate the maximum line length to have been c.16 cm. Assuming, in addition, margins of 2-3 cm (the extant 3.5 cm one being on the side of a line that does not reach the maximum length), the entire width of the codex page would be c.20/21 cm. With a reconstructed height of c.21 cm for the written text plus upper and lower margins of c.4 cm we would have a total page height of c.28 cm. This format would fall, as aberrant, within Turner's Group 4 (*Typology* 16), like, for example, the *Aeneid* codices I 31, PSI I 21, and P. Ness. II 2, all dated to the fifth or sixth century. If reaching a height of 31 cm, then **5269** would fall within Group 3 (*Typology* 15-16).

If the scribe maintained a consistent number of lines per page, the entirety of Book VI, whose transmitted text contains 901 lines (but 901 is a suspect verse; cf. G. B. Conte's Teubner edition (2009) ad loc.), would have occupied 26 pages. For a page to end at line 497, the book must have begun about seven lines from the bottom of a page. This suggests that the codex may have contained at least book V as well, possibly with a short interposed section indicating the end of V and the beginning of VI (*explicit . . . incipit*), as for example in VIII 1099 and BKT IX 39. The codex may well have contained a complete edition of the *Aeneid*, which would have occupied about 145 leaves (see Turner, *Typology* 82-4).

The script can be classified as primitive/early minuscule, attested in the eastern as well as western part of the Roman Empire throughout the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries: see G. Cavallo, 'Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri', in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009) 141-5. There are some noteworthy ligatures: of *e* with following letters through its medial stroke (*er*, *es*, and *ef*); *li*; *gr* with *g* in mi-



nuscule form, the first horizontal stroke descending rightward and becoming the first upright stroke of the following *r*. Comparable hands are VIII 1097 + X 1251 + P. Köln I 49 (plates in CLA 2 210, VIII pl. vi; Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* II.1 no. 50, pl. xxvii), P. Mich. inv. 4969 fr. 36 (*ZPE* 117 (1997) 73-80, pl. xiii), PSI II 142 (*Papyrologica Florentina* XXX, tav. 76), BKT IX 39 (more cursive, but comparable for letter shapes; plate in Seider, op. cit. no. 65, pl. xxxviii), P. Ryl. I 61 and PSI I 20 (less cursive ductus; Seider, op. cit. no. 45, pl. 26). I am inclined to assign 5269 to the fourth/fifth century. The text is written in *scriptio continua*; there are visible middle stops placed by the same hand during the copying of the text, which are consistent with breaks in sense.

The extant ancient witnesses to the *Aeneid* constitute a heterogeneous set of texts, including not only substantive copies of the poem but also writing exercises and Latin-Greek versions. For a recent catalogue of the fragments of archaeological provenance see the items collected in M. C. Scappaticcio, *Papyri Vergilianae* (2013), to which add O. Xeron inv. 871 (ex Verg. *Aen.* I, II, IX) = A. Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Vergil i uorden', in *AIGIS Supplementum III: Festschrift til Christian Marinus Taisbak—80 år* (2014), as well as two items identified and edited by M. Fressura: P. Vindob. L 158 b (parts of *Aen.* IV, forthcoming in *Polymatheia: studi offerti a Mario Capasso*) and P. Vindob. L 102 f., parts of *Aen.* I with Greek translation (forthcoming in *Tyche* 31). 5269 is the second *Aeneid* fragment to preserve part of book VI after the above mentioned P. Ness. II 2, with which the text of 5269 overlaps, while the identification of VI 872, included by Scappaticcio (no. 21) as preserving VI 698-700, 706, 711, is extremely uncertain.

For collation, and restoration of the text *exempli gratia*, I have relied upon the Teubner of G. B. Conte (2009). 5269 preserves no new readings, but notably bears traces of a supralinear addition in 529, at a point in which the other extant manuscripts show variance.

For their valuable advice, I wish to thank Dr Marco Fressura and Dr Serena Ammirati, who have provided very useful comments on the script and have checked particularly difficult passages on the original *in loco*.

→

exiguam] i[nce]p[us clamor frustratur hiantis  
 Atq]ue hic Priamiden laniatum c[orpore toto  
 495 Deiph]obum uidit · lacerum crud[eliter ora  
 ora manusque ambas · popula]taque tempora raptis  
 auribus et truncas inhon]esto uulnere naris

↓

quid moror inrum]pu[nt] th[a]lamo c[o]m[er]s addi[tus una  
 hortator sceler]um [O]elides · Di talia Graiis  
 530 instaurate pio si] poenas ore reposco  
 sed te qui uiuum ca]sus age fare vicissim  
 attulerint Pelagine] uenis erroribus [a]ct[us]

→

495 *uidit* with FPω, Seru., Tib. (*uidi* Rufin. 50.9): *uidet* F<sup>2</sup>MAP<sup>1</sup> RΠ<sub>10</sub>abrxy, ps. *Acro ad Hor. carm.* 4.9.23: *uidit et M* : *videt et* Heinsius. The papyrus, along with P. Ness. II 2, further supports the perfect tense, as do most editors. For arguments in favour of this reading, see R. G. Austin's note ad loc. in his commentary (1977).

↓

528 Traces are very scanty and read with great difficulty, therefore the reading and restoration of this line must be considered *exempli gratia*.

th[a]lamo with most MSS: *thamos* RΠ<sub>10</sub>jw.

addi[tus restored with PRabh?jknwxyγ: *additur* FMII<sub>10</sub>ωγ<sup>1</sup> Tib.

529 [O]elides. There is space for only one letter in the lacuna, and there is a trace of supralinear ink consistent with the second descending stroke of an uncial *a* (which would be different from the cursive form found elsewhere in the papyrus). The papyrus is thus likely to have read *oelides* with MPωγ Sac. 449, 5–6, 'alii' ap. Seru., possibly with a supralinear correction reflecting the other witnesses: *aeolides* R (*eolides* ijktuw, *eoliades* F), Seru., Tib.

*Graius* with codex Gudianus fol. 70: *Grais* majority of MSS. The double *i* is an alternative spelling; see *OLD* s.v.

532 [*attulerint*] restored with most MSS: *attulerit* M.

S. P. C. HENDRIKS

5270. PLUTARCH, *VITA CAESARIS* 45.8–46.1

28 4B.61/G(12–14)b

6.2 × 4.8 cm

Late second/early third century

A fragment from a roll, written along the fibres, with a surviving left margin of 1 cm. There is an average of c.20 letters per line, suggesting a line length of c.6 cm. The back is blank.

The small-ish hand is of the 'Informal Round' type, datable to the late second/early third century. It was written fairly quickly. Letters are upright and occupy roughly the same amount of space, though they often touch. Letter spacing varies and sometimes the horizontal element of *ε* is not attached to its bowl. Roundness and distinct letter shapes are the predominate features: *α* is usually written in two strokes, with an oval loop; the oblique elements of *α* show curvature; *μ* has curved legs and is written in one stroke; the upper members of *γ* tend to display a wide

angle, and in one instance is completely V-shaped; and the lower oblique of κ is consistently linked to the upper oblique instead of being attached to the upright. The text is generally bilinear, the descenders of ρ, τ, ι, and γ dip below the line, while the upper members of γ and the top of ι rise above. For hands with comparable letter shapes, see Roberts, *GLH* 23a (between AD 227 and 275/6), *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 39 (first/second century) and Schubart, *PGB* 22a (BGU I 140; second century). *Scriptio plena*, iota adscript, diaeresis, and cancellation dots are present.

5270 is the ninth papyrus of Plutarch, and the first *Life of Caesar*, to come from Oxyrhynchus. One other fragment of this work has been published, P. Köln I 47 etc. (M-P<sup>3</sup> 1431, third century; provenance unknown, possibly Panopolis). For a recent list of Plutarch papyri, see LXXVIII 5153-8 introd. As a second century papyrus, alongside LII 3685, LXXVIII 5153-4, and LXXVIII 5156-7, 5270 is further evidence that the works of Plutarch made their way to Egypt promptly and not long after their author's death. Pelling has dated the composition of the *Life of Caesar* to about AD 110; see C. Pelling, *Plutarch: Caesar, Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (2011) 36. If so, the text was copied and moved swiftly across the Mediterranean. Perhaps this was due to the re-emergence and popularity of Julius Caesar as an image and Roman hero under the reign of Trajan (Pelling, *Plutarch: Caesar* 2), or simply the intrinsic interest that Caesar's story may have provoked within Egypt. The scene is Pompey's camp at Pharsalus in 48 BC, where he is preparing to flee after his defeat, ultimately to meet his demise at the hands of Egyptians.

The papyrus anticipates modern emendation at 5 and 7, and may have preserved syntax at 13-14 that is unattested in the manuscript tradition. For collation materials, and restoration of the text *exempli gratia*, I have relied on Ziegler's Teubner (1942) and the Budé of Flacelière and Chambry (1975).

την [εναγωνιον και στρατη (45.8)  
 γικην ες[θητα φευγοντι δε  
 πρεπουσαν με[ταλαβων ε  
 [[ςθητα]] υπεξηλ[θεν αλλα ου  
 5 τος μεν αις υστε[ρον χρησα  
 μενος τυχαις ο[πως τε παρα  
 δους εαυτον Αιγ[υπτιοις αν  
 δραειν ηιρεθη δ[ηλουμεν εν  
 τοις περι εκειν[ου γραμμα  
 10 τιν ο δε Καισαρ ω[ς εν τωι χαρα  
 κι του Πομπηι[ου γενομε

νος τους τε κει[μενους  
 νεκρους των [πολεμιων  
 ] και τους [

2 γικην ες[θητα. Traces of ink at line bottom, possibly preserving the right vertical of ν, the bottom arc and horizontal element of ε, and the bottom arc of σ.

3 με[ταλαβων with ABDHPQ: μεταβαλὼν L<sup>2</sup>. μεταβάλλω can mean 'to change ones clothes', but here Pompey removes (ἀπεδύσατο) his military clothing and exchanges (μεταλαμβάνω) them for garments more suitable to a fugitive. The transposition of λ and β, λαβ vs. βαλ, could facilitate quick and even unintended confusion between the stems.

3-4 [ε][θητα] with deletion dots above, which are indistinguishable in shape and darkness of ink from the diaeresis at 4 and 5, and thus most likely made by the scribe. The reading is superfluous, and we can assume the final ε of line 3 had a cancellation dot as well; note the syllabic division before σ + stop, see Thraette, *Grammar* i 67-8. The brachylogy requires only one noun to complement the adjectives in the μὲν/δέ antithesis, ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἐναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν . . . φεύγουσι δὲ πρόπουσαν κτλ. This is possibly an interpolation of a marginal note, one used to clarify the syntax.

5 αἰς: ταῖς MSS. The papyrus confirms the correction of ταῖς to αἰς by Solanus, and so refutes other attempts at emendation: Coraes ὁποῖαις; Schaefer αἰς θ'; and Reiske οἷαις, whose reading is favoured; cf. S. *El.* 334 δηλώσαιμ' ἂν οἱ αὐτοῖς φρονῶ. The syntax adheres to the proper incorporation of an antecedent, cf. K.-G. *Grammatik* ii II. 556. 2b.

7-8 Αἰγ[υπτίους ἀν]δράσιν: τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνδράσιν MSS. Emperius' deletion is confirmed, and the reading may be preferable. Lines 4-10 are a direct reference to the *Life of Pompey* (77-80), where Plutarch tells that it was Septimius, a former Tribune, Salvius, a former centurion, and Achilles, the Egyptian, who murdered him. Moreover, it was Theodotus of Chios who convinced the assembly (βουλήν τῶν δυνατωτάτων) gathered by Pothinus to execute Pompey. ο[πως τε παρα]δουσαυτον αιγ[υπτίους] may refer, in an indefinite and abstract sense, to the Egyptian assembly that condemned him to death.

8 ηἰρεθη: ἀνηρέθη MSS. The papyrus is torn, and iota adscript is nearly hidden under the overlapping ρ. The reading is difficult to defend. Both αἰρέω and ἀναιρέω can mean 'to kill'; cf. LSJ s.v. Yet a TLG search reveals that ἡρέθη seems to be used consistently in the *Lives* in the sense of 'to be elected' to an office, such as Consul or General, whereas ἀνηρέθη conveys 'to be killed' or 'put to death by'—Plutarch is perhaps not without a sense of irony here. For the former cf. *Caes.* 14.16-17, for further examples of the latter, cf. *Ant.* 87.8, *Brut.* 22.2 and *Cic.* 47.4.

δ[ηλωμεν restored with MSS. Space would not permit Solanus' conjecture δηλώσομεν, which is adopted by Flacelière and Chambry. Reference to *Pompey* as a project in the future tense is found at 35.2 ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφησόμενοις τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον δηλωθήσεται, creating a potential problem for this reference. Pelling, however, addresses this contradiction in his argument for simultaneous preparation of the eight lives that document the end of the Republic: *Lucullus, Pompey, Crassus, Cicero, Caesar, Cato, Brutus* and *Antony*. If simultaneous composition occurred, reference in both the future and present is possible; see C. Pelling, *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (2002) 1-44.

9-10 [γραμμά]σιν with MSS. The papyrus, along with most editors, refutes the deletion by Sintenis.

11 Πομπη[ίου]. Iota itself is lost, but part of its diaeresis survives above the line.

12 κει[μενους]. Idiosyncratic letter spacing, which is evident, is required to reach line end, otherwise left over space for around two letters. Possibly the papyrus read κει[μενους ηδη] | νεκρους των; cf. *Pel.* 11.8 κείμενος ἐμποδῶν ἤδη νεκρὸς ὁ Κηφισόδωρος; see note below.

13 νεκρους των with QD: νεκρους ἤδη τῶν L2ABHP. As noted above, an unattested syntactical variant might be present. Plutarch's τε καί construction hinges upon the dead vs. those still being put to death. Although there is symmetry in the two present participles modified by an intensifying adverb, τοὺς τε κειμένους νεκρούς ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κτεινομένους κτλ., ἔτι is introduced by Hase to correct the manuscript reading ἐπικτεινομένους. And the trace of ink in line 14 that follows καὶ τοὺς is too straight to be the bowl of ε, based on the existing examples. Even considering the possibility of κει[μένους ἤδη] | νεκρους των noted above, the papyrus may have preserved a text omitting either one or both adverbs.

14 ] και τους [. Partial restoration with the manuscript tradition, εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι, is difficult. The trace of ink before και lacks the curve of ε. It resembles the top of an upright vertical stroke. Further, εἶδε might not fill the space required to reach line beginning Ephelcystic ν before a consonant is a possibility, thus read εἶδε]ν, which fits the space exactly; cf. LXXVII 5153 col. ii 10 and 16. And as noted above, the visible ink after τους is too straight to be the bowl of ε. This could be the upright of κ, suggesting κ[τεινομένους as a plausible restoration. But there is no indication of the lower oblique rising from the base of the upright, the upper oblique being attached to the lower instead of the upright, which is evident in the six surviving instances of κ.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

5271. [PLUTARCH], DE PROVERBIIS ALEXANDRINORUM 50 (?)

44 5B.61/B(7-11)

6 × 4.6 cm

Third century  
Plate IV

Fragment of ten lines from a papyrus roll, written against the fibres on the back of a document (possibly remains of an account). No margins are preserved, and thus reconstruction of column width is by conjecture, with an average of about 15 letters per line.

The hand is indicative of the 'Severe Style', datable to the third century and probably the earlier half. The style is betrayed most consistently by a narrow o resting high on the line, especially when juxtaposed with broad κ and π. Strict angularity and broadness are nearly consistent, as evidenced in α, π, τ, γ, and η; though the vertical strokes of π, τ, and ι are sometimes curved. ω has nearly lost its central element. Yet c, with a flat top, and ε are not so narrow, often occupying a full space on the line. For comparable hands, cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27, *GLH* 19b (dated to the first half of the third century), and especially LXXIII 4942, which may have been written by the same hand as 5271 (see below).

Preserving the saying τὸ Πάσητος ἡμιωβόλιον, 5271 might be the first papyrus of the *Alexandrian Proverbs*. The saying 'Pases' half-obol' originally refers to the conjuror Pases. When he used his enchanted half-obol to buy something, the coin always magically ended up back in his possession; although we lack evidence for the later application of the saying, it seems to convey trickery and/or deception. The *Alexandrian Proverbs* is attributed to Plutarch in the mediaeval manuscripts (*Πλουτάρχου παροιμῖαι αἰς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐχρῶντο*) and is also listed in [Lamprias]

142 (περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι παροιμιῶν). Plutarch's authorship, however, has been the subject of debate. It has been defended by Crusius, Cohn, and Rupprecht, but rejected by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Bernardakis, Weissenberger, Ziegler, Sandbach, and Bühler: see O. Crusius, *Ad Plutarchi De proverbii Alexandrinorum libellum commentarius: De Proverbii Alexandrinorum libelli inediti fasciculus alter* (1895) 4–8; L. Cohn, *Zu den Paroemiographen: Mitteilungen aus Handschriften* (1887) 11; K. Rupprecht, 'Paroimiographoi', *RE* 18.2 (1949) 1764; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Commentariolum grammaticum III', in *Index scholarum publice et privatim in Academia Georgia Augusta habendarum per semestre aestivum* (1889) 24 (= *KS* iv (1962) 650); G. N. Bernardakis, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia* vii (1896) pp. xlv–xlvi; B. Weissenberger, *Die Sprache Plutarchs von Chaeronea und die pseudoplutarchischen Schriften* ii (1896) 55–7; K. Ziegler, 'Plutarchos 2', *RE* 21.1 (1951) 880; F. H. Sandbach, *Plutarch's Moralia* xv (1969) 404–5; and W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia vulgari ceteraque memoria aucta* i (1982) 61–2 n. 18. The work probably goes back to the first century AD grammarian Seleucus of Alexandria, whose *Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι παροιμιῶν* is attested in *Suda* ε 200.

The *Alexandrian Proverbs* are part of the 'Athoan collection', which includes 'Zenobius Athous' (the original, thematically ordered Zenobius, comprising three books) and the so-called fifth Athoan collection (an alphabetically ordered collection of proverbs). The manuscripts of the *Alexandrian Proverbs* are: Laurentianus Plut. 80, 13 (L); Laurentianus Plut. 58, 4 (L<sup>2</sup>), preserving a heavily abbreviated selection of proverbs; and Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 1164 (M), the main manuscript for Zenobius Athous, probably originally containing the Plutarchean work before it lost several pages. The Athoan collection was later redacted and alphabetically ordered as 'Zenobius Vulgatus' (see also 4942 introd.).

Although O. Crusius included the proverb τὸ Πάσητος ἡμιωβόλιον in his edition of the *Alexandrian Proverbs* (*Plutarchi De proverbii Alexandrinorum libellus ineditus* (1887) 24), proverbs 41–51 are actually additions not found in the manuscripts (L and L<sup>2</sup>). Proverb 50 is found in [Diogenianus] *Vulgatus* 8.40 and the *Recensio Bodleiana* B 906 Gaisford (= V 4.17 Schottus), both of which go back to the Athoan collection. The proverb also appears in a more complete form in *Suda* π 752 (which is also copied in *Suda* η 346). Crusius' attribution was based on two observations: in both [Diogenianus] and the *Recensio Bodleiana* it is found between τὰς ἐν Αἴδου τριακάδας and τὸ βασιλικὸν βοῖδιον, two lemmas derived from [Plutarch] (proverbs 8 and 22 respectively), and it references the Alexandrian grammarian Apion (*FGH Hist* 116 F 23; see O. Crusius, *Analecta critica ad paroemiographos Graecos* (1883) 126). According to Crusius, the proverb should go between [Plutarch] proverb 19 (ἐφ' ἵππων ἐπ' ὄνου) and proverb 20 (*Κόττας Μάξιμος*).

However, two points should be kept in mind. First, the lemma cites the grammarian Apion, but citations of such authorities recur nowhere else in the *Alexandrian Proverbs*. The only apparent exception is proverb 37 (ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης), but this lemma is probably an interpolation from Zenobius Athous (II 107), as Crusius

suggested. In fact, the phrase 'X mentions this/him' to attest a certain proverb is typical of Zenobius (although Zenobius always uses μέμνηται instead of μνημονεύει, as found in this proverb). Second, the hand closely resembles that of 4942 (Zenobius), and both fragments are written on the back of cursive documents. Nevertheless, in 5271 letter size is larger and ε, c, and ω are written differently. Moreover, the pen of 5271 is thicker. The hands might not be the same, despite their overt similarity in appearance; we might also have the case of more than one scribe copying a collection of proverbs. If 5271 preserves [Plutarch] and there is some relationship in its scribal production with 4942, this might suggest that the Athoan collection existed in the late second or early third century AD, which is close to Zenobius' lifetime; Crusius, *Plutarchi De proverbii Alexandrinorum* p. iii, however, dated the compilation of the collection to the fourth or fifth century AD. Alternatively, a scribal connection could also suggest that 5271 is Zenobius. Although the proverb recurs in neither 'Zenobius Athous' nor 'Zenobius Vulgatus', both occasionally lack certain proverbs of Zenobius; Book III could be a plausible option, since M (the main manuscript of the Athoan collection) has lost the second half from Zenobius Athous III 19 onwards. In any case, the attribution of the *Alexandrian Proverbs* remains conjectural.

The text of the papyrus has been collated with the edition of O. Crusius (1887). 5271 is close to the text of *Suda* π 752, but deviates from it in 8–9, where it possibly supports von Gutschmid's conjecture of *περὶ μάγου Ὁμήρου* as an alternative title for Apion's work, though the papyrus may have read *πε[ρι του | μαγου ομη]ρου* (see below 7–9 n.). In this context, we should note that Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 30.18 = *FGrHist* 616 F 15) says that as a young man he once heard Apion claim to have summoned Homer's spirit from the dead to interrogate him about his homeland and parents (see also *Jos. Ap.* 2.14 = *FGrHist* 616 F 34). *Περὶ (του) μάγου Ὁμήρου* might have been one of Apion's speeches on Homer (cf. *Sen. Ep.* 88.40 = *FGrHist* 616 T 7), and he may have even projected some magical attributes upon the poet. Such projections of later science and pseudo-science onto Homer are common; Apion, for instance, also called Homer an astronomer (*FGrHist* 616 F 35a), and the use of Homeric verses in incantations is evident in the Graeco-Roman period: see F. Maltomini, *ZPE* 106 (1995) 107–22; D. Collins, *CPh* 103 (2008) 211–36; A. Karanika, 'Homer the Prophet', in A. P. M. H. Lardinois, J. Blok, and M. G. M. van der Poel (eds.), *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy, and Religion* (2011) 255–7; R. Martín Hernández, *ZPE* 190 (2014) 97–8.

διαδι]δο[με  
 νον] υπ αυτου το[ις πι  
 πρα]σκουσιν π[αρ ων  
 ηθελ]εν ωνεισθ[αι ει ε]  
 5 βου]λετο παλιν [παρ  
 αυτω] ευρισκετο [και  
 Απιων] δε ο γρα[μμα  
 τικος ε]ν τω πε[ρι ε.2  
 ε.8 ]ρου[ ε.3  
 10 ].[

1-6 [διαδι]δο[με][νον] υπ αυτου το[ις πι][πρα]σκουσιν π[αρ ων] | [ηθελ]εν ωνεισθ[αι ει ε]-  
 [βου]λετο παλιν [παρ] | [αυτω] ευρισκετο with *Suda*, except for [πι][πρα]σκουσιν (πιπράσκουσι *Suda*)  
 and ευρισκετο (ηύρισκετο *Suda*): πεποιημένον υπ' αυτού τοίς πιπράσκουσιν ώνούμενος γούν δι' αυτού  
 ὅπερ ἠβούλετο, πάλιν ἐαυτῷ τούτ' ἀνελάμβανεν *Recensio Bodlciana* (= b): διδούς, παρ' ἐαυτῷ πάλιν  
 εὔρισκε [Diogenianus] (= d).

αυτου: a round dot of ink at line bottom slightly to the right of τ. It does not appear to be the  
 same ink as the text and looks somewhat like ο, but likely an accidental drop.

7-9 Απιων] δε ο γρα[μμα][τικος ε]ν τω πε[ρι ε.2] | [ε.8 ]ρου[: Απίων δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς  
 μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ περὶ μάγου *Suda* (περὶ μάγου Ὀμηρος is preserved in V (= Vossianus Fol. 2)):  
 omitted in b and d. L. Cohn ('Apion 3', *RE* 1 (1893) 2805) suggested περὶ μάγων as the title of Apion's  
 work. J. Rives, 'Apion Περὶ μάγου and the Meaning of the Word Μάγος', *MHΛH* 9 (2009) 121, consid-  
 ered a dialogue Περὶ μάγου Ὀμηρος with Homer as an interlocutor (like Plato's *Φαίδων ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς*  
 and Cicero's *Cato maior de senectute*). If ]ρου[ in the papyrus (line 9) should be supplemented as [Ὀμη]  
 ρου, Rives's alternative is untenable. In fact, such Greek double titles are usually separated by ἢ with  
 the eponymous character as the first title (i.e. we expect Ὀμηρος ἢ περὶ μάγου). A. von Gutschmid,  
 'Vorlesungen über Josephos' Bücher gegen Apion', in *KS* iv (1893) 359, proposed the emendation περὶ  
 μάγου Ὀμήρου. However, πε[ρι μαγου] | [ομη]ρου might not be enough to fill the space. There is  
 room for an additional two or three letters, as so perhaps we should supplement πε[ρι του] | [μαγου  
 ομη]ρου. The verb μνημονεύει probably followed the title of the work, but greater variance than sim-  
 ple transposition cannot be excluded.

J. H. BRUSUELAS / C. MECCARIELLO / G. VERHASSELT



## 5272-5274. EPICETETUS, DISCOURSES

Presented here is a significant contribution to the early witnesses of the so-called Ἀρριανού τῶν Ἐπικτήτου διατριβῶν Α Β Γ Δ. The title of the modern edition is the product of Schenkl, since the work is referenced in a variety of ways in antiquity, such as λόγοι and ὑπομνήματα in Arrian's prefatory letter to the work addressed to Lucius Gellius, Διατριβαί in Photius and Simplicius, ὑπομνήματα in Marcus Aurelius, and dissertationes (Gr. διαλέξεις) in Aulus Gellius (on the diverse titles, see J. Souilhé, *Épictète* (1943) I xii-xix). One must also remember that the *Discourses* reflect not one author but two, Epictetus and Flavius Arrianus (only two papyri have been attributed to other works by Arrian, PSI XII 1284 and, without much acceptance, III 416). The first papyrus fragment of the *Discourses* was only recently published, P. Cairo Mich. II 11, a small fragment from Karanis containing Book 4.1.136-8 and datable to the third century. Unlike P. Cairo Mich. II 11, which is part of an anthology, 5272, 5273, and 5274 do not bear the remains of other works alongside the *Discourses*.

Epictetus composed nothing for publication. That we can read him at all is due to Arrian's record of his teacher's words. And reading him is still circumscribed by two distinct issues. In his letter to Lucius Gellius, Arrian states that he did not publish them (οὔτε ἐξήνεγκα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αὐτός) nor does he know, without his consent, how it happened (τοιαῦτα δ' ὄντα οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως οὔτε ἐκόντος ἐμοῦ οὔτε εἰδότος ἐξέπεσεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους); for an overview of scholarly opinion regarding these statements, see P. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (1980) 28. As to its language, whether Arrian's text is stenographic, and thus the *ipsissima verba* of the former slave and Stoic philosopher, or simply a reconstruction of his teacher's words from notes and memory in the form of a lecture is not easy to determine. That Arrian composed in the Koine, instead of the polished Attic found in his other works, has given some traction to the stenographic account, but opinion varies (see Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* 26-7; F. Millar, 'Epictetus and the Imperial Court', *JRS* (1965) 140-48; and W. A. Oldfather, *Epictetus* (1925) pp. xii-xiii). And so this papyrus evidence is indeed of great interest.

All three papyri, like P. Cairo Mich. II 11, are assigned to the late second/early third century on palaeographical grounds, as well as taking into account the *terminus post quem* of the composition of the *Discourses* at some point in the second century. Since Epictetus established his school at Nicopolis in the early years of the second century, we might have evidence of bookrolls in circulation in Egypt not long after his death, supposedly around 135. Even more noteworthy, Arrian's timeline is 92-160/75, and that could suggest circulation nearly within his lifetime. In the absence of dated parallels, however, a high degree of uncertainty remains; though for evidence of early circulation in Graeco-Roman Egypt, compare the now increased number of Plutarch papyri recently published (see LXXVIII

5153–8, as well as the introd. to LXXXI 5275). In the context of this supposedly unknown publication, Arrian was mostly likely recording Epictetus around 107–9 (see Millar, 'Epictetus and the Imperial Court' and Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* 20). Did Arrian, as a student, lend his work to others, at which point copying began? Or did that come later? We do not know. Nevertheless, dissemination seems to have begun, at least, by 120, if Aulus Gellius could see a copy in the possession of Herodes Atticus at Athens around 147, let alone for these papyri to appear at Oxyrhynchus (on Gellius' problematic chronology; see L. Holford-Strevens, 'Towards a Chronology of Aulus Gellius', *Latomus* 36 (1977) 93–109). In the end, running this timeline suggests popularity, but perhaps for Stoic philosophy in general more so than just Epictetus (for Stoicism and Stoics on papyrus, see T. Dorandi, 'La tradizione papyrologica dei stoici', in J.-B. Gourinat (ed.), *Les Stoïciens: études sous la direction de Gilbert Romeyer Dherbey* (2005) 29–52). At any rate, this should behoove us to reconsider Long's position that 'Epictetus was probably not widely read as compared with Cicero, Seneca, and his own erudite contemporaries' (A. A. Long, *Epictetus: A Stoic and Socratic Guide to Life* (2002) 13). That Epictetus was perhaps more popular than we have thought should not come as a great surprise. Not only was his brand of Stoicism applied to everyday life, but the second century was inundated in philosophy, from the revival of Platonism to a fashionable Cynicism that invoked Socrates and Diogenes (see Long, *Epictetus* 15). There was a great interest in philosophy, as authors like Lucian particularly convey; see C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (1986) and R. B. Branham, *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions* (1989).

Of the original eight books, only four have been transmitted. The primary manuscript of the *Discourses* is Bodleianus Misc. Graec. 251 (= S), from which all later copies derive. S is full of errors, as the numerous corrections found in the manuscript attest; both Schenkl and Souilhé–Jagu document six correctors (see Souilhé–Jagu, *Épictète* pp. lxxii–lxxv). As our first significant glimpse at the text before the mediaeval transmission, the new papyri show three distinct features: 5273 seems to bear an alternative title for 2.23; 5274 agrees with both a corrector found in S and a sixteenth-century copy; and 5272 and 5274 use a paragraphus or forked paragraphus to mark book sections.

For collation materials, and restoration of the text *exempli gratia*, we have relied on the edition of H. Schenkl (1916) and the Budé of J. Souilhé and A. Jagu (1965). The Loeb of W. A. Oldfather (1925) has also been consulted.

We are grateful to Dr Daniela Colomo and Professor Peter J. Parsons for correcting earlier drafts.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

5272. *EPICETUS, DISCOURSES 2.17.22-4*

20 3B.35/F(1-3)b part

2.6 × 8.5 cm

Late second/early third century

This scrap from a papyrus roll preserves an upper margin, measuring 4.3 cm, and the beginnings of 8 lines written along the fibres. The back is blank. There is an average of 13 letters per line, and column width can be estimated at about 4.3 cm.

The script is a carefully executed, medium-sized informal round bookhand, slightly slanting to the right and generally bilinear: α shows an oval loop, one instance plunging below the line (2); the shape of ε recalls the 'Severe Style'; the top of the right-hand upright of η shows a loop departing from the right-hand extremity of its central element; μ is formed with a very deep bowl, sometimes reaching line bottom; the oblique of ν is nearly horizontal, connecting to a right-hand upright sitting slightly higher up on the line; γ is written in two movements with a visible loop on the right of its wedge; ω is written in two movements with a visible loop constituting its central element. There are occasional pseudo-ligatures, notably between α, ε, τ, and the upright of the following letter. There is also some decoration; the uprights of τ, η, τ, and especially ρ and γ have serifs, or tails, curling up at the bottom to maintain the line. On the one hand, some features (especially the shape of γ) can be traced back to scripts of the first/second century (see Roberts, *GLH* 12a, Cession of Land from AD 88). On the other hand, there are similarities with hands of the same type assigned to a later period (see *GLAW*<sup>2</sup> 62, later second cent.). Considering the author's *terminus post quem*, we cautiously assign 5272 to the late second/early third century:

Punctuation includes high stops in the shape of very short strokes slightly slanting to the right, marking a syntactical pause, which because of their position within the line seem to be a later addition (2, 3). In 5 a sign of identical shape occurs where there is no syntactical pause: it could be considered as a misplaced high stop or an apostrophe with the function of word-separator (see 5 n.). There is a paragraphus, apparently by the same hand, marking the end of a section (see 7-8 n.). Iota adscript is not written. The scribe or a corrector (the letters are formed differently, but this could be attributed to hasty or compressed writing) also inserts omitted letters (1, 5).

5272 is apparently a luxury edition, given the generous upper margin (see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 135-6).

λυ'ει τις 'ε' α[ναγκα (2.17.22)

κει· ου μαλ[λον η τον

δια· οταν τ[οιου

τον εχης [ 6.7 ]

5 τω· συν'θελη[ς και συν

ορεγη τι φ[οβη ετι  
μη αποτυ[χης χαρι  
κα[ι

1 [κω]||λυσει is apparently split between columns, which scribes often tried to avoid (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 48).

1-2 τις 'ε' α[ναγκα]||σει with JU: τις αναγκάσει S. ce appears to be an addition for the sake of clarity based on the preceding και τις ce κωλύσει.

ου. The papyrus refutes Schweighauser's conjecture οὐδεις οὐ.

3-5 οταν τ[οιου]||τον εχης [ c.7 ]||τω: οταν τοιούτον εχης ηγεμόνα και τοιούτω S. Given the range of 12-15 letters per line, the transmitted text cannot be restored in full at the end of line 4, as there is not enough space in the lacuna to fit 14 letters (ηγεμόνα και τοιού-, counting iota as a half letter) in addition to the 7 preserved. τοιού- is a likely restoration before τω in line 5, especially as a match with τοιούτον in a parallel construction τοιούτον εχης . . . / τοιούτω συνθέλης . . . If we assume that the word ηγεμόνα has been omitted, in the lacuna there is enough space to restore the text as οταν τ[οιου]||τον εχης [και τοιου]||τω συνθελη[ς και συν]||ορεγη. Note that with the omission of ηγεμόνα the text still makes sense: τοιούτον can be understood as Zeus, so that the text yields a simpler parallel construction, οταν τοιούτον εχης και τοιούτω συνθέλης και συνορέγη ('when you have such a one [as Zeus] and your wishes and desires accord with his . . .').

εχης with S: εχεις VB

τω· συνθελη[ς. As noted in the introduction, the ink trace resembles the other high stops, but there is no pause here. If an apostrophe, and assuming τοιου- can be restored at the end of line 4 (see note above), it could divide [τοιου]||τω from συνθελη[ς, and thus may be a word separator preventing one from reading τοιούτως (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 11).

συνθελη[ς. I have restored the reading of S against συνθέλεις VJ. The visible trace of the last letter before the lacuna fits the foot of the slanting left-hand diagonal of Η in this hand.

7 The paragraphus below line 7 most likely indicates the end of section 23 after αποτυ[χης and beginning of section 24 with [χαρι]||κα[ι as preserved in the mediaeval MSS. P. Cairo Mich. II 11 ii 8 also has a paragraphus that seems to mark a section. If the scribe was consistent with his use of the paragraphus and divided the chapters according to the transmitted divisions, we would also expect a paragraphus between lines 3 and 4, as line 3 contains the transmitted end of section 22 with Δία and beginning of section 23 οταν, but no such sign is preserved.

A. SCHULTZ

### 5273. EPICTETUS, DISCOURSES 2.22.37-23.1

16 2B.52/B(b)

4.9 × 8.6 cm

Late second /early third century

A fragment from a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. A large upper margin is preserved (3.7 cm), along with the remains of a right margin (1.5 cm) that reveals a column not well justified. Line reconstruction suggests an average of 18 letters per line, yielding a column width of around 6 cm. 5273 thus falls into the normative range of 4.3 to 7.5 cm for the columns of literary prose texts (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 101). The back is blank.

The script is an upright bookhand, roughly bilinear, though the descender of  $\rho$  extends slightly below the line. The basic letter shapes belong to the 'Informal Round' type, but with some angularity:  $\alpha$  is generally triangular, but occasionally formed with a more rounded bowl; the centre stroke of  $\epsilon$  is not fully connected to the bowl and extends towards the following letter;  $\mu$  consists of a deep curve;  $\omicron$  is small and often somewhat angular;  $\gamma$  is in either two movements with a closed loop at the bottom or as a vertical capped by a shallow bowl;  $\omega$  is wide, lies slightly above line-level and shows slightly angular lobes. Ornamental short strokes are occasionally found at the extremities of uprights. A moderate contrast in shading (*chiaroscuro*) can also be observed: between the thick upright and thin crossbars of  $\eta$ ; between the thick uprights of  $\nu$  and its diagonal; between the thick upright of  $\tau$  and its crossbar; between the thick sides of  $\omicron$  and the thinner top and bottom (e.g. 2 *δογματα* and 5 *ραιοιν*); between the vertical descender of  $\rho$  and the medium thickness of the curve shaping its bowl. The angularities and the *chiaroscuro*—at least at first sight—give the impression of a vague similarity with the 'Biblical Majuscule'. This feature is shared by other papyri, such as III 406, which shows a hybrid script based on the 'Biblical Majuscule' with influence of the 'Severe Style' and can be assigned to the late second/early third century (see G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (1967) 29–30, pl. 7b, and P. Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica* (2005) 20 n. 6). A reverse case of 'Severe Style' influenced by the 'Biblical Majuscule' is LXV 4442, assigned to the early third century. We should also compare III 454 (= *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 62), copied on the back of military accounts written after AD 111 and assigned to the later second century. I am thus inclined to assign 5273 to the late second/early third century.

A double horizontal stroke is used in 3 as ornamentation after the section title. A long horizontal line is used as line filler in 4 and 5. To keep a straight right-hand margin the scribe also reduces letter size at line-end (7 and 8). A high stop occurs in 7 to mark a pause, but its position suggests that it is a later addition, possibly by the same hand (the ink appears to be the same). Iota adscript is written.

αν εχητε τα] θηριωδη ταυ (2.22.37)

τα και μια]ρα δογματα

] αγελιας =

βιβλιον π]ας αν ηδιον α – (2.23.1)

5 ναγνωιη] και ραιοιν το –

ευσημοτ]εροις γραμμα

σι γεγραμ]μενον ουκουν

και λογους] πας αν τις ραιοιν

ακουσειε το]υς <ε>υςχη[μ]ος[ιν

3 ] αγγελιας. In 5273 the text of the new chapter begins in line 4 and, according to my reconstruction, follows the *paradosis*. This line is shorter than the others and ends with two short horizontals, seemingly ornamental. This suggests a title, evidently a title different from that transmitted by the mediaeval MSS, which have *περὶ τῆς τοῦ λέγειν δυνάμεως* as the title for 2.23; it was probably preceded by the same ornamental double stroke as visible at line end. Before αγγελιας it is possible to see a thick vertical stroke (the lower extremity is slightly damaged) whose tip joins the small trace of another. π is a plausible restoration. As suggested by Dr Brusuelas, the supplement α]παγγελιας may be possible, and thus the alternative title might be *περὶ α]παγγελιας*, written in *eisthesis* (cf. LXXXI 5274 col. ii 11–12 n.). In the first few lines of 2.23, Epictetus programmatically explains the theme of the chapter: οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο ῥητέον, ὡς οὐδεμία δύναμις ἐστὶν ἀπαγγελτικῆ. Thus the title *περὶ ἀπαγγελιας* fits the context, e.g. 'on power of expression/diction' as an alternative to *περὶ τῆς τοῦ λέγειν δυνάμεως*, 'on the ability to speak [well]'. But this may also be simply a quick fix to supply a missing title, as *δύναμις* is present both in that programmatic statement and the transmitted title.

9 [ακουειε] restored with the necessary emendation by Schenkl, as preferable for space: ἀκούει S, ἀκούει s.

το]υς (ε)υεχη[μ]οσι: τοὺς εὐεχῆμοσιν S. The traces after the υ of the expected τοὺς and before that of εὐεχῆμοσιν suggest a single letter with round top, i.e. ε or c. A letter has been omitted, either the final c of the article or the initial ε of εὐεχῆμοσιν. My restoration assumes that the last two letters at line end have been written in a reduced size (cf. lines 7 and 8). There are also specks of ink above the lacuna that appear to be stray ink. The horizontal at the end of the line could be a space filler (but would be placed unusually early).

A. SCHULTZ

#### 5274. EPICTETUS, DISCOURSES 4.11.31–12.1

25 3B.58/G(a)

10.1 × 8.7 cm

Second/third century

A fragment from a roll, written along the fibres. Two columns are preserved, with an intercolumnium measuring 2.2 cm. There is an average of 25 letters per line. The justification of col. i is cursory, the scribe's letters are sometimes compressed and extend out into the margin. A bottom margin is preserved to 2.4 cm, and we can estimate 12 lines missing between the columns, suggesting about 25 lines per column with a height of c.14.7 cm. This indicates a shorter column than the norm for prose texts, and possibly a distinct feature of the second century; see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 119–22. The back is blank.

This medium-sized hand is a typical example of the 'Formal Mixed' style, angular and gently sloping to the right. The narrowness of ε θ ο c is distinct next to broad letters such as π, μ, and χ; ο is sometimes nothing more than a dot of ink high up on the line. Yet there is some fluctuation; flat-top c and ε often occupy a square space on the line, while ε sometimes displays a straight back and a horizontal stroke that touches the following letter. Other notable features are: the horizontal of τ is razor thin and touches the following letter; downward oblique serifs sit on top of the verticals of ι and κ; ω has no central element; the two oblique strokes of κ join at an acute angle and are connected to the upright by a short hori-

zontal stroke. The script is generally bilinear, the descenders of ρ and γ and the left oblique of λ dip below the line, while the top of ι and the wedge of γ rise above. A good parallel is Roberts, *GLH* 22c (from the Heroninus archive; *terminus ante quem* c.260), but the hand is strikingly similar to LXV 4459 (Str. 2.5.20-4, assigned to the late second/third century; cursive notes on the back), which shows the same 'idiosyncrasies' of 5274: the extremely small ο lying high on the line, the odd shape of κ mentioned above (4459 col. i 11, 15; but note that in other occurrences the more 'standard' shape occurs), and especially an 'exaggerated' tendency to reduce letter size at line-end (cf. 5274, col. i 3, 6 and 12 and 4459 col. i 1-3, 4, 13-14). One could argue that 5274 and 4459 have been written by the same hand, but with a different pen, that of 4459 being slightly thicker.

Iota adscript is not employed, and thus also omitted in restoration *exempli gratia*. Supralinear correction and the remains of double diaeresis are evident. A high dot marks both a full period (col. i 11) and a shorter pause (col. ii 7). Book chapter is marked by both a forked paragraphus, or dipole obelismene (and probably blank space), and a unique abbreviation in the margin (see below col. ii 11-12 n.). The ink of the punctuation and diaeresis seem to indicate that they were produced by the first scribe. However, the position of the high dots suggests that they were added later, and the supralinear correction and the abbreviation are slightly more cursive and are most likely a later addition as well.

col. i

]ηνδια (4.11.31)

[και εκωληκες και α]ραχν[[η]]αί  
 [τα μακροτατω της αν]θρωπ[ι]νης  
 [συναναστροφης απελ]ηλασμε  
 5 [να ευ ουν ανθρωπος ων ουδε]  
 [ζωον ειναι θελεις των αν]θρω  
 [ποις συντροφων αλλα εκωληξ]  
 [μαλλον η αραχνιον ου λο]υξη  
 [που ποτε ως θελεις ο]υκ απο  
 10 [πλυνεις c.8 καθ]αρος ινα  
 [κοι χαιρωσι]ν οι συνοντες· αλ  
 [λα και εις τα ιερα] ημιν συνερ  
 [χη

col. ii

αξι] (4.11.35)

ερα[τος ιδου πρεσβυτης αξιος  
του ερ[αν και αντερασθαι ω  
τις υἱον [αυτου παραδω μα  
5 θηκομεν[ον ω θυγατερες ω νε  
οι προσελε[υονται αν ουτως τυ  
χη· ινα εν [κοπρωνι λεγη τας  
εχολας μη γ[ενοιτο πασα  
εκτροπη α[πο τινος ανθρω  
10 πικου γιν[εται αυτη εγγυς  
εστι του μ[η ανθρωπικη ει  
ναι  
δ vacat [ (4.12.1)  
[ο]ταν[

col. i

1 ]ηνδία: ἡνίδια S: χηνίδια S<sub>b</sub>. Restoring as χ]ην(ι)δία is tempting. However, η is read with difficulty; only a vertical stroke descending below the line remains, which does not parallel with η in col. ii very well, and there are traces of smudged ink. The remains of a triangular letter strongly suggest Δ, leaving νδία rather clear. The diminutive χηνίδιον transmitted by S<sub>b</sub> is a *hapax* (the normal diminutive is χηνίκοσ). χηνίς itself is not well attested. It only appears in a third century BC inscription from Delos, see *IG XI(2).224A11*. Here one should note a mistake in the Budé of Souilhé and Jagu, who print χηνίδια: ἀράχνια Kron. in the critical apparatus. This was not the subject of Kronenberg's conjecture; see *Mnemotopie* 38 (1910) 165 and below i 2 n.

2 α]ραχη[η]αι. The correction, by a second hand, agrees with the MSS. Taking into consideration the scribal tendency to reduce letter size at line-end, the two vertical strokes after χ are perfectly suitable to η. As for the remaining gap and vertical stroke, there is enough space for η. The first scribe probably wrote α]ραχηη, the singular instead of the plural. Alternatively, η can be explained as a phonetic writing instead of the diphthong (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 248-9). The papyrus refutes Kronenberg's conjecture of ἀράχνια.

9-10 [ο]υκ απο[[πλυνεις ε.8 καθ]αρως ινα. The transmitted text reads οὐκ ἀποπλυνεῖς σεαυτόν; οὐχ ἤξειε καθαρός, ινα κτλ., but there is not enough space to accommodate the mediaeval transmission. There is enough to restore οὐχ ἤξειε, which would render something readable. Idiom requires the direct object with ἀποπλυνεῖς, particularly in a reflexive sense, but it is possible σεαυτόν dropped out. Although πλύνω is properly used in the sense of washing clothes as opposed to washing or bathing the body (λούω), see LSJ s.v., both πλύνω and ἀποπλύνω are found in the latter sense, cf. Ath. 9.409c and Euphronius fr. 114 Strecker (transitively for parts of the body), and Callistratus (quoted in *sch. Ar. Vesp.* 604c Koster, see R. Schmidt, *De Callistrato Aristophaneo*, appendix to A. Nauck, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (1848) 326), where the middle form is used in the reflexive sense. With a reflexive pronoun, the expression is also not common, cf. Eus. *Comm. in Ps.* PG 23, 121.3-4, albeit in the metaphorical sense of 'cleansing'. Prof. Parsons suggests the possibility of a future middle passive, ἀποπλυνῆ,



instead of ἀποπλυνεῖς σεαυτόν; cf. Callistratus' fragment noted above. Notably, the spacing also refutes Schweighauser's conjecture that κᾶν θερμῶ μὴ θέλῃς, ψυχρῶ should be excised from 4.19 and inserted here after σεαυτόν; a reading adopted by Oldfather and the Budé of Souilhé and Jagu.

11 *κυνοντες*. The high stop corresponds to the query mark in printed editions, and this seems to be a lectional concern; no punctuation is used to mark the full period in col. ii line 8 after *εχολαε* or in lines 11-12 after [εἰ]ναι (but in this case the end of the section is marked by paragraphus and blank space, so punctuation would not be necessary).

12-13 *κυνερ*[χη] with MSS against Coraacs' *κυνειέρχη*.

col. ii

4 *υῖον* with a corrector of S, possibly S<sub>c</sub>: *υῶν* S. The inorganic diacresis over *υ* is clear, while there is only a dot over *ι* before a subsequent gap, suggesting the presence of a double diacresis. With forms of *υῖος* specifically, the double diacresis is found in the following documentary papyri: PSI VIII 883.4; P. Mich. IV 224. 201, 257, 652; P. Cairo. Masp. II 67151.5 (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 205 n. 2). This is not simply an issue of spelling. The diacresis over *ι* indicates not a separation of vowels but that *ι* is not silent. On the variation between the two forms and the rare existence of *υῖος* in the Roman period, see Threacote, *Grammar* i 340-42; Gignac, *Grammar* i 202; Schwyzer, *Grammatik* i 199-200.

4-5 [παρω μα]θησομεν[ον restored with the corrector S<sub>b</sub>: *παρωθησομενον* S. *παρωιδωμι* in this sense is correct, but the relative clause needs a finite form to govern the accusative. Furthermore, line reconstruction suggests either *παρωδο* or *παρωδο* is not enough, leaving space for about two letters at line end. *θησομεν[ον* may also push the text into the margin of line 5, but this hand would allow that. The eventual loss of distinction between long and short vowels, *ω/ο*, is the likely source of the problem, a simple phonetic error in spelling inducing eventual corruption. Unless we accept more compressed letters in the margin, there is not enough space for Kronenberg's *παρωδοσει μαθησομενον* and Schenkl's *παρωδο παιδευθησομενον*.

[θυγατερες] restored *exempli gratia* with MSS. Emending to the accusative has been suggested, if one emends *παρωδο* in line 4 into a finite form and reads the noun as its direct object: Elter *θυγατερας* and Kronenberg *θυγατερα*.

9 *εκτροπη*. A clear dot of ink above *κ*, possibly a trace of another below. Deletion dots or simply ink drops? There is no variance in the mediaeval transmission, and the sense is rather clear.

10 [αυτη εγγυε] restored *exempli gratia* with MSS: *δ' εγγυε* S<sub>b</sub>. The corrector clearly inserts *δε* to underline the adversative force of this clause. Bearing in mind, once again, the lack of well-justified lines, one letter or two—without elision—could be squeezed in. *αυτη* is understood implicitly with the subtle correction of S<sub>b</sub>: *αυτη* instead of *αυτη* in MSS.

11 *του* with Par. 1959 (a sixteenth-century copy of S): *τω* MSS.

[ανθρωπικη] restored *exempli gratia* with MSS. Elter suggests *ανθρωπινη*.

11-12 [εἰ]ναι. The forked paragraphus marks the end of chapter 11.

*vacat* [. The blank line no doubt held the title of the next chapter. The MSS transmit the title *περι προσοχης*, and that, if centred on the column, would fit neatly in the lacuna; cf. 5273 3. In the margin between col. i 12 and col. ii *vacat* there is a note consisting of delta directly above omega, perhaps added by a second hand, since the script is more round and informal. The note stands closer to col. ii than col. i. Since ii 13 begins 4.12, it is tempting to understand the note as *δω(δεκα)*, but that seems excluded: the standard abbreviation would be by suspension, not as a monogram, and in any case a monogram should read from bottom to top, i.e. *ΩΔ( )*. There are clear examples of this pattern representing *ωδ(η)* or *ωδ(αι)*; see most recently LXXXIX 5188 fr. 1 col. i 5 n. and 5203 1 n. But what would that convey here? More relevant is an expansion *ωδ(ε)*, equivalent to *ουτως* in the sense 'Thus (it was in the exemplar)': McNamee, *Abbreviations* 253 finds possible examples in PSI XII 1283 fr. A i 4-5, where the text has in fact been corrected, and P. Lond. Lit. 131 xxvii 9, where no correc-

tion appears in the text and thus the abbreviation indicates 'evidently, that anomalous text has been verified'. If that is the meaning here, was there some doubt about the title? Note that in 5273 the title presented is different from that in the mediaeval tradition.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

5275. LUCIAN, *CATAPLUS* (19) §20

7 1B.3/B(g)

5.5 × 6 cm

Early third century

A fragment from a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. Beginnings of eight lines, from the middle of a column, with several traces of ink from the preceding column that give an intercolumnar width of 1.5 cm. As reconstructed, the lines had on average 25 letters. On the back, there are 5 lines in a cursive documentary hand, which, since the papyrus has been turned 90° and the writing is along the fibres, give us no evidence of which side was written first.

The fragment is written in an informal upright hand of a fluid character, datable to the early third century. It is almost cursive, yet consciously stylised, with flamboyant  $\alpha$ , and is generally rounded with accentuated loops. The hand has some affinities with the 'chancery style' from the late second and third centuries, and is thus to be added to the small group of literary texts written in a documentary hand. For detailed discussion of chancery hands, see G. Cavallo, 'La scrittura del P. Berol. 11532: Contributo allo studio dello stile di cancelleria nei papyri greci di età romana', *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216–51 = *Il calamo e il papiro* (2005) 17–42; see also T. Renner in *Pap. Congr. XXI* 828. Note the chancery  $\kappa$ ,  $\Delta$  with the right stroke looping over the apex in a slight hook to the left, diminutive  $o$  and  $c$ , extended  $i$ , tall  $e$ ,  $\mu$  with its middle rounded and deep, and V-shaped  $\gamma$ . For comparable hands, cf. SB XIV 11935 = PSI X 1148 (letter of a prefect to *strategi* dated to 210; see Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45, Tav. 8 = *Il calamo e il papiro*, Tav. Va) and LXVI 4505 (Anoubion, *Elegiacs*, assigned to the late second/early third century).

There are no accents, breathings, or signs of punctuation, though for a possible diaeresis see 8 n. No paragraphus indicates the change of speaker where we would expect it in line 5. An itacistic spelling appears in line 4. The text agrees with a minority of medieval manuscripts in one variant (3) and may contain as many as two others due to scribal error (5, 6).

5275 is the second undisputed papyrus of Lucian to be published; both come from Oxyrhynchus (on papyri possibly attributable to Lucian, see introd. to LXIX 4738). The cursive character of the hand, just as we see in 4738, and the errors or variants (careless copying) may point to another private copy.

The date at which Lucian wrote *Cataplus* is debated. J. Schwartz, *Biographie de Lucien* (1965) 55 ff., favours a date around 159 on the grounds of similarity of structure and treatment of topics to that in works so dated. C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society*

in *Lucian* (1986) 168, opts for 165 or later, arguing that that there might be a reference to the Parthian war of Lucius Verus (161–6) and that the philosopher Theagenes, mentioned in §6 and given for dead, is probably the Cynic who appears in *De morte peregrini* and therefore alive in 165. For a more detailed discussion, see Bompaire's 'Belles Lettres' edition of *Lucian* (1998) ii 259. Lucian is supposed to have served in an official capacity in Egypt, which he describes in *Apologia* 12, between 171 and 175 (see H.-G. Pflaum in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 71 (1959) 281–6). Assuming that the date of the papyrus is not later than the early third century, 5275 shows that Lucian, whether due to his service in Egypt or not, was quickly in circulation within the province. But Lucian is not alone in finding quick circulation, and perhaps popularity, in Oxyrhynchus. Consider not only the Epictetus and the Oppian published in this volume, but other authors in circulation during or shortly after their lifetime (see especially J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 313–40): Nicarchus II (Flavian?), who imitates Lucillius (Neronian?), LIV 3725 and LXVI 4501 and 4502 (first or second century); Plutarch (45–120), LII 3685 (first half of second century) and LXXVIII 5153, 5156, and 5157 (second century); Babrius (c. AD 100), X 1249 (second century); Pancrates (time of Hadrian), VIII 1085 (second century); Phlegon (time of Hadrian), XVII 2082 (late second century); Julius Africanus (time of Severus Alexander), III 412 (before 275/6).

For reports of readings from mediaeval manuscripts, and supplementation of the text *exempli gratia*, I have used Bompaire's above cited edition, though the Teubner of Nilén (1923) and Jacobitz (1839) and the OCT of Macleod (1972) have been consulted. The sigla are those listed by Bompaire in the introduction of his edition (1993) vol. i, pp. lxxxi–lxxxiii (with A = Gorlicensis 12 and A = Vatic. gr. 87).

μικ αδακρυτι δ[ιαπλευσαι τινα (20)  
 απαγε ουδεν |εστιν εφ οτω αν  
 οιμωξαιμι ε[υπλων ομως καν  
 μεικρον τι ες [το εθος επιστεναξον  
 5 οιμωξαιμι | c.15  
 τω δοκει οιμ[οι c.13  
 των παλα[ιων οττοτοι των σα  
 θ[ρ]ων υποδ[ηματων

2–3 [αν] | οιμωξαιμι with φ Y: αν οιμώξομαι Γ Ω V φ<sup>78</sup> m8 F D: ανοιμώξομαι N A: αν οιμώξωμαι S Ω<sup>27</sup> Ca I M P Σ C ι R B C A. The papyrus may preserve the true reading against most manuscripts. αν + future has long been viewed sceptically (see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses* §197, and A. C. Moorhouse, *CQ* 40 (1946) 1–10); the combination is also notably mocked in the *Solecist* §§2 and 8, though there is still some debate on whether or not to attribute that dialogue to Lucian. Some editors

are thus inclined to read the optative: Dindorf, Bekker, Sommerbrodt, Harmon, and Nilen. In favour of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  + future in Lucian, see M. D. MacLeod, *CQ* 6 (1956) 102–11.

3 ε[υπλωιν. Before εὐπλοῶν, οὕτως μέγα C B C A: οὕτως μγ Ω<sup>nr</sup>.

4 μεικρον (l. μικρόν): with majority of MSS: εμικρόν A.

εε with majority of MSS: πρὸς Σ ι φ.

5 οἰμῶξαιμι: οἰμῶξομαι majority of MSS.: -ξωμαι C : -ξωμεν P (-o- s.l.). One might simply expect the future here. The reading is thus either a slip, perhaps induced by οἰμῶξαιμι above in 3, or the aorist has some grammatical function; even considering the cursive nature of the hand and contemporary parlance, Mandilaras, *The Verb* §639, citing both present and aorist optatives, observes that, although Ptolemaic non-literary papyri reveal that the potential optative was eventually understood as equivalent to the future indicative, it was replaced by the future in the Roman period. The potential aorist optative in Attic prose refers to future time and conveys the simple occurrence of an action, see K.-G., *Grammatik* ii §396.6 n. 2 (pp. 235–6). As Dr Brusuelas notes, in the context of Mikyllos' refusal to lament and Hermes' previous claim that it is 'customary (θέμις)' to wail when crossing the river, perhaps 'Well then, I shall [i.e. just this once] lament . . .' is acceptable, but would require  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in the lacuna (see 5–6 nn. below). Smyth (*Greek Grammar* §1826) notes the potential optative as a means to soften a statement and convey irony, citing A. *Pr. vocoίμ' ἄν, εἰ νόσημα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐτυχεῖν*. The wailing of Mikyllos that follows is certainly ironic. Still, the closest parallel seems to be the present optative λέγοιμ' ἄν, which is often used in tragedy to introduce a formal speech that immediately follows; for Lucian, in particular, it is relevant that it is found in Aristophanes and Plato; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 97, 119 and Pl. *Mx.* 244d.

5–6 [ c.15 ] | τω δοκει οἰμ[οι. The majority of MSS have τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, σοὶ δοκεῖ (before ἐπειδὴ [ἐπεὶ φ ι], φ ι B repeat ἐς τὸ ἔθος), whereas Σ Υ Ρ read τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ σοι, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, δοκεῖ. Although τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ would perfectly fill the space (the last trace in 5 is a high spot of ink close to the top of the preceding ι and compatible with the left end of the horizontal of τ), τω at the beginning of line 6 indicates variance not transmitted in the mediaeval manuscripts. Furthermore the papyrus also has an optative (οἰμῶξαιμι), where all manuscripts have a future, so that we might have  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in the lacuna as noted above. οἰμῶξαιμι τ[οίνυν ἄν] might be possible (JHB), since the combination τοίνυν ἄν with the optative, albeit in that order, is not uncommon (for example, cf. Pl. *Men.* 76a4 ἤδη τοίνυν ἄν μάθοις κτλ.); for an instance where the verb is in initial position, we must look to the ἄνωνύμου ἐχόλια εἰς τὰς Ἑρμογένους ἐτάσεις in *Rhet. Gr.* VII.1 509, 5 Walz ἀπορήσει τοίνυν ἄν τις κτλ. Regardless, even if the future were preserved instead of the aorist, there simply is not enough space to accommodate the transmitted text. Still, from the end of 5 to the beginning of 6 the papyrus may have at least read [ου]|τω δοκει, cf. Lucian *Herm.* 84 καὶ εὐ τοίνυν, ἐπεὶπερ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ κτλ. (JHB). Beyond that, what exactly dropped out and/or what further variance the papyrus contained remains uncertain. τ[οίνυν ἄν ἐπεὶ σοι ου] (JHB) would fill the space and convey the proper sense, speculative as it is. The text can survive without the vocative, probably more so than the dative pronoun; cf. *DMost.* 1.4 ἐάσωμεν τούτους, ἐπεὶ σοι δοκεῖ, where Diogenes in acquiescence does not invoke Polydeuces in their exchange.

6–7 οἰμ[οι c.13 ] | των παλα[ιων: all mediaeval MSS have οἰμοὶ τῶν καττυμάτων· οἰμοὶ τῶν κρηπίδων τῶν παλαιῶν. This cannot be the reading of the papyrus, since it would far exceed the average number of letters per line. It is likely that the scribe omitted τῶν καττυμάτων· οἰμοὶ by a 'saut du même au même'.

8 υποδ[ηματων: above υ a short vertical trace. If not a stray mark, perhaps the dot of a diacresis. What appears to be a hook at the left end of the bar of π is not paralleled in 2 and 7 and may be the result of a ligature with the right arm of υ.

## 5276-5277. OPPIAN, HALIEUTICA

The papyri edited here present a significant addition to the manuscripts of Oppian's *Halieutica*. Both can be dated to the third century and thus postdate the composition of the poem by as little as a generation or two. Two ancient manuscripts of the *Halieutica* were previously known: a third-century papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus (P. Cair. inv. 45623; cf. C. C. Edgar, *ASAE* 26 (1926) 209-10) and a fourth-century papyrus codex from Hermopolis (P. Berol. inv. 13240 = BKT V.1 80-81); see A. Zumbo, 'Due papiri degli *Halieutika* di Oppiano', *APapyrol.* 8-9 (1996-7) 89-93). With the publication of 5276 and 5277, three of the four ancient witnesses of the poem are third-century papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

The text has been collated against the edition of F. Fajen, *Oppianus Halieutica* (1999). Within its heavily contaminated manuscript tradition Fajen has reconstructed twelve manuscript families, to which these papyri bear no unique allegiance; see F. Fajen, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Halieutika des Oppian* (1969) and 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Halieutika des Oppian', *Hermes* 107 (1979) 286-310. For the second part of the work (from *H.* 3.605 onwards), there is also an anonymous prose paraphrase (often attributed to Eutecnius), which is based on an independent, older tradition; see F. Fajen, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung und sogenannte Euteknios-Paraphrase der Halieutika des Oppian* (1979).

P. STRATAKI

## 5276. OPPIAN, HALIEUTICA 1.27-32

A 73/8(b)

8.6 × 3.6 cm

Third century

Remains of six lines from a papyrus roll, written against the fibres on the back of a document. A left-hand margin of 1.1 cm is preserved. The column width is estimated at c.11.7 cm, within the normative range for columns of hexameter verses (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 116). On the front are remnants of a documentary text (perhaps an account). Apart from a few unintelligible traces, all that is preserved is (ἀπτάβαι) ια and a long horizontal line below it, probably marking the end of a section.

The text is written in a fast, medium-sized, informal hand with a rightward inclination. The hand is irregular and has cursive features. A thick pen was used, which contributes to the less than elegant appearance of the script. Although informal, the writing is the work of an experienced scribe and ornamental elements are visible but not prominent. There are frequent ligatures, mostly in the connections of α and ε with the following letter.

The informal character of the hand adds to the difficulty of assigning a date.

The *terminus post quem* is 177/8, the date of composition of the *Halieutica* (see F. Fajen, *Oppianus Halieutica* (1999) p. viii). Despite the documentary characteristics, the hand aspires to a literary quality. In particular the influence of the 'Formal Mixed' style is visible in the combination *oi*; the preference for elongated *i* with a deep downward stroke coupled with tiny floating *o* suggests that the model is more likely to have been a fully developed 'Formal Mixed' hand. This points to the third century, which is also suggested by two close, objectively datable parallels: LX 4068, a copy of imperial rescripts dated to Pharmouthi AD 200, is an early example of the 'Formal Mixed' style; in LI 3612, a letter of a prefect dated to 272/5 (see BL XI 170), the style is more developed.

There are no accents or breathing signs. Elision is marked by an apostrophe in 29, but seems to have been left unmarked in 28. Internal organic diaeresis occurs in 30. Both the apostrophe and the diaeresis are by the scribe's hand and appear to have been copied with the main text.

The papyrus has no new readings. However, it does not support Brunck's conjecture *επόψιος* in 30 (for *υπόψιος* of the medieval MSS). In 32 the surviving traces are too exiguous to decide which variant the papyrus favoured.

. . . . .

υλη]ς αγρ[ονομοιο τα τ ουρεσι πολλα φυονται  
 τερ]πωλη δ̄ επετ[αι] θη[ρη] π[λεον ηεπερ ιδρωσ  
 οσσοι δ' οιωνοισιν εφοπλιζο [. . . . .] ολεθρον  
 30 ρηϊδιη και τοισι πελει και υπ[οψιος αγρη  
 τους μεν γαρ κνωσσοντας ε[ληισσαντο καλιησ  
 κρυβδην τ[ο]υς δε δοναξ[ι]ν . π[εσπασαν ιξοφοροισιν  
 . . . . .

28 θη[ρη] π[: it is unclear whether there is sufficient space for iota adscript in the lacuna.

29 εφοπλιζο [: εφοπλίζονται MSS: εφοπλίζουσιν gloss in Γ, v.l. in δ, m<sub>1</sub>. The trace before the break is a dot at line level, more compatible with the foot of the left upright of *η* than the bottom of *Υ*. Fajen defends εφοπλίζονται as the original reading, attributing the active form to a copyist's familiarity with the numerous instances of εφοπλίζειν in Homer (F. Fajen, *Noten zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Halieutica* (1995) 15–16).

30 υπ[οψιος with MSS. The meaning required is 'conspicuous', normally conveyed by *επόψιος* (see LSJ s.v.), which has been proposed by Brunck; cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 81, 258; see J. G. Schneider, *Oppiani Cynegetica et Halieutica* (1813) 208.

32 π[εσπασαν: επέσπασαν βεγικμων LMUz<sub>2</sub>p<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>, v.l. in Γδλ: υπέσπασαν γ, v.l. in δλ, Fm<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub>: ἀπέσπασαν θP<sub>1</sub>, v.l. in Γ. Before π there is a speck of ink at maximum height. The trace is compatible with the left-hand tip of *Υ* but seems too low and too close to the preceding upright of *η* to be the tip of *λ*; *ε*, however, cannot be excluded. The fisherman's task is contrasted to that of bird-hunters in Opp. *H.* 1.29–32. Fajen rejects επέσπασαν as a *lectio facilior* (Noten 17–18). He argues that υπέσπασαν makes sense if the bird-hunting method envisaged by the author was one where thin rods or spindles, their tops covered with glue, are placed amid low trees or bushes for the birds to get stuck on as they

fly by (*Noten* 16-17). However, the context suggests a different hunting method, in which the hunter uses a composite rod, similar to a modern fishing rod, with a spindle at the top coated with glue. He throws the rod from underneath a bird sitting in a tree, so that the bird gets stuck on the spindle, which then gets detached from the rod and brings the bird down by its own weight. Fajen argues that only ἀπέπασαν is appropriate for this type of hunting. However, ὑποσπᾶν is also possible in the sense of 'von unten ziehen'.

P. STRATAKI

5277. OPPIAN, HALIEUTICA 4.683-93

19 2B.79/C(1-2)a

8.3 × 13 cm

First half of third century

Eleven lines from a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. The back is blank. Margins are visible at the top (3.3 cm) and at the bottom (3.8 cm), and an intercolumnium is partially visible on the left-hand side (1.6 cm). The preserved column width is 6.7 cm, a little less than half the original width (c.14-16 cm). The end of the book is marked by a *coronis*, but no signs of an end-title can be seen. Book-ends marked only by a *coronis*, without any final colophon, are rare, and thus far limited to Hellenistic rolls: XV 1790 (Ibycus, first century BC), P. Berol. inv. 16985 (*Il.* 21-23, first century BC; G. Poethke, 'Papyri mit Homerfragmenten', in *Troja und Thrakien* (1980) 50-52), P. Mil. Vogl. II 36 (*Il.* 7.482-8.1, first century BC); see F. Schironi, *Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον: Book-Ends, End-Titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* (2010) 25-31. Given the date of 5277, the colophon most likely occupied the unpreserved part of the lower margin, placed in central position.

The papyrus is written in a medium-sized specimen of the 'Formal Mixed' style, with a slight slope to the right: ρ, γ, φ dip below the line; ο is tiny and suspended in the middle of the line; ω and often Δ do not reach the upper line; λ and Δ are triangular; ε and θ have a projecting middle crossbar; μ is in three or four movements; ζ tends to be cursive; ω is flat-bottomed. The scribe used a rather thick pen and there is evidence of some shading: horizontal strokes are thinner than vertical ones, with a maximum thickness of stroke in the downward verticals (ρ, γ, φ); some diagonal strokes are thinner than others (λ, Δ). The hand (especially the shapes of θ and ω) points to a date in the third century, probably the first half. A close parallel is XVII 2098 = *GLH* 19b (containing Hdt. VII), securely dated to the first half of the third century on the basis of a land survey on the back, probably from the reign of Gallienus.

Iota adscript is never written (689, 690, 692), and no accents or breathings are evident. An apostrophe and organic diaeresis are added in 689, and a paragraphus below 684 marks the end of a section; these lectional signs are the work of the original scribe. One iotacistic spelling occurs in 689 (λειμω for λιμῶ). The *coronis* is unusually stylized and c.4.8 cm long. One may compare the *coronides* in X 1231 (for the length), 1234 fr. 2, and, more closely, XI 1360 fr. 1. The *coronis* is written in

a lighter ink and could have been traced by another hand or, at least, by a different, finer pen.

5277 is possibly the earliest witness of Oppian's poem to date. It offers a new reading at 686 (*φρουρόν*), but also contains a small corruption in 684 (*ξυγών*).

καὶ τὸτ ἀπειρεσιω[ν νεκυων ερυουσιν ομιλον  
 ξυγών τεθνειωτας [ομου λωβητορι ποτμω  
 683 ως δ οτε δυσμενεεσσιν [επιστησωνται Αρηα  
 φρουρον εελδομενοι ρα[ικαι πολιν ουδ ανεισι  
 πηματα βουλευοντες ε[πι σφισιν αλλα και υδωρ  
 κρηναων φαρμαξαν [ολεθριον οι δ επι πυργοις  
 λειμω τ' αργαλεω και οϊ[ζυι μοχθιζοντες  
 690 υδατι τ εχθοδοπω σ[υγερων και αεικεα ποτμον  
 ολλυνται νεκυων δ[ε πολις πεπληθεν απασα  
 ως οι λειυγαλεω τε μορω [και αδευκει ποτμω  
 ανδρασι φαρμακτηρσι[ν υποδηθηθεντες ολοντο

683 ἀπειρεσιω[ν with the majority of MSS: ἀπειρέσιον gloss in Γ, ο'ι. The letter before the break cannot be ο and is compatible with the lower left corner of ω. In the line καὶ τὸτ' ἀπειρεσι-νεκύνων ἐρύουσιν ὄμιλον, the reading ἀπειρεσιών would refer to νεκύνων, while ἀπειρέσιον would refer to ὄμιλον without affecting substantially the general meaning. Cf. the similar variation among MSS in Opp. H. 4.496 ἀπειρεσίην/ἀπειρεσίης χύειν ἄργης, on which see Fajen, *Noten* 376-7.

[νεκυων] restored *exempli gratia* with most MSS: νεπόδων m<sub>2</sub>.

684 ξυγών. All mediaeval MSS have ξυνῶ. The papyrus' ξυνῶν is perhaps wrongly attracted to νεκύνων in 683 and, assuming no other textual alteration in the missing part of the papyrus, ought to be discarded as meaningless.

τεθνειωτας with v.l. in Γβ, κm, R<sub>2</sub>Z<sub>2</sub>: τεθνηῶτας v.l. in Γβ, ο' m<sub>2</sub> εθιμν FM<sup>c</sup> P<sub>1</sub> U: τεθνεῶτας a' (L's reading is uncertain). According to Fajen, *Noten* 185, τεθνεῶτας should be preferred to the Homeric τεθνηῶτας, as it is the form used by later authors; cf. A. R. 3.461, Theoc. 25.273, Q. S. 5.502, and Tryph. 178.

[λωβητορι] restored with most MSS: λωβητήρι v.l. in ΓR<sub>2</sub>U.

685 [επιστησωνται] restored *exempli gratia* with v.l. in ι, v.l. in λ (?) m<sub>1</sub>: ἐπιστήσονται v.l. in ι.

686 φρουρον: φρουδον ἐελδόμενοι ραίκαι πόλιν MSS. With the papyrus' new variant, φρουρόν . . . πόλιν means 'the city on guard', i.e. 'the defensive city', an expression that has a parallel in Opp. H. 1.678 φρουρός στρατός and 4.240 φρουρός πόσις. Nevertheless, this reading seems to be a simplification of the syntax. φρουδον can have a predicative sense (i.e. a proleptic object predicate adjective) and translated as 'eager to destroy a city until it is ruined'; this is essentially Fajen's translation, 'eine Stadt zu schleifen und zu vernichten'.

688 [επι πυργοις] restored *exempli gratia* with most MSS; only κ reads ἐνὶ and λ πύργων.

689 λειμω: l. λιμῶ. The reading is preserved by almost all medieval MSS. ο' has λοιμῶ, 'by plague', which could also be right, but has no support in the MSS nor in the anonymous prose paraphrase (16.17-19 ed. Papathomopoulos).

690 υδατι with the majority of MSS: ὕδασι v.l. in Γ. Cf. Fajen, *Noten* 226.

τ with most MSS: δ' v.l. in β, a' vMP<sub>1</sub>.

εχθοδοπω with the majority of MSS: ἐχθοδοποις v.l. in Γ.



στ[υγερον και αεικεια ποτμον restored with most MSS: (ἀδευκία v.l. in θ): στυγερω̄ καῑ ἀεικεί πόντω v.l. in Γ, α'ν.

692 [αδευκει] restored *exempli gratia* with most MSS.: αεικία v.l. in ΓβU, εθκΛ.

693 φαρμακτηρσι[ν with the majority of MSS: φαρμακῆσιν (read φαρμάκτησιν) ο'μπ, R<sub>2</sub>. φαρμακτῆρ and φαρμάκτης are both rare synonyms of the more common φαρμακός, 'poisoner', and are used almost exclusively by Oppian (Opp. *H.* 2.483 φαρμακτῆρες; 4.648 φαρμάκταις; cf. Nonn. *D.* 22.78 φαρμακτῆρος). In addition to the fact that the majority of MSS and the papyrus favour it at this point, the reading φαρμακῆσιν seems preferable in view of Oppian's tendency to use compounds in -τηρ over those in -της (e.g. Opp. *H.* 1.13, 238, 710, 3.220 θηρητήρ; 1.173, 2.586 κυβιστητήρ; 5.451 ληϊστήρ; 4.55, 5.116 φυλακτῆρ; 4.624, 5.324 ὠμηστήρ). On these two variants see Fajen, *Notes* 392, and A. W. James, *Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia* (1970) 225-6, 228.

F. SCHIRONI

### 5278. [OPPIAN], CYNEGETICA 4.195-208, 247-59

89 A/51

8.2 × 6.1 cm

Fourth century

A scrap from a papyrus codex leaf, preserving 13 lines on both sides. We can estimate a maximum of 51 lines per page, since there are 38 verses missing between ↓ and →. Each column would have been c.25 cm high and c.11-12 cm wide. The side margins measure at least 2.3 cm. This papyrus codex may belong to Turner's Group 8, in which the height of a page is roughly twice its width, or Group 6 (Turner, *Typology* 18-21). If it contained the entire *Cynegetica*, it would have consisted of 42 pages.

The papyrus is written in a slightly 'Sloping Pointed Majuscule' comparable to the hands illustrated in *GBEBP* 2b (assigned to the early fourth century) and 11b (assigned to the second half of the fourth century, but more sloping). The hand is roughly bilinear, with φ and γ extending above and below the line, ρ slightly below. The tips of strokes are frequently thickened. μ is deep in the middle. ε (with a projecting middle horizontal stroke), θ, ο, and c are narrow. κ, π, η are wide. φ is noticeably large and round. ω is small, well rounded, and suspended above the lower notional line. A second hand added some interlinear corrections with a thinner pen.

The main scribe always marks elision with an apostrophe (196, 205, 206, 207, 249) and writes iota adscript, while the second hand writes in *scriptio plena* (202). Lectional signs include middle stops (252, 254, 256, 258), accents (201, 205, 208, 249, 252, 254, 256, 259), and inorganic diaeresis (205). A diplo obelismene below 202 marks an accidentally omitted line (203), and some faint traces might be paragraphi that mark both a pause (205) and end of a section (199). Most of these lectional signs appear to have been inserted by the second hand.

5278 is the first papyrus attested for the *Cynegetica*. Dedicated to Caracalla, the poem's *terminus post quem* is most likely 212, the year Caracalla become sole

emperor. The work, erroneously attributed to Oppian of Cilicia, was written by an anonymous author from Apamea in Syria (see A. Hollis, *ZPE* (102) 153–66). The text has been collated with the recent Teubner edition by M. Papatomopoulos (2003). It offers two new readings in 200 (κρατος, πολλη[ικιν]), and in 199 and 208 it confirms modern conjecture. Overall, however, the text of the main scribe is rather careless, including a possible haplography in 198, a possible corruption in 202, and omission of 203. All of these errors have been emended by the corrector. In 251 the second hand probably provides a new reading (ετερηικιν) that seems to agree with Eutecnius' prose paraphrase, but is not necessarily better than *εταρηικιν* found in the majority of MSS.

↓

195 βαλ]λομενο[ς πυκνησι τανυρροιζοικιν ακωκαι  
 ω[ς] ο γ' ανηυ[ς] τοικιν απειπαμενος καματοικιν  
 οψε βροτοικιν ε[δωκε βραβηια παντα μοθοιο  
 αφρον αποσταει [δε ποτι σχερον αιματοεντα  
 εικελος αιδομεν[ωι δε ποτι χθονα κανθον ερειδει  
 200 ως δε κρατος πολλη[ικιν] ερεψαμενον κοτινοικι  
 πυγμαχίης εν αγ[ωσιν υπ ανeros αλκηεντος  
 202 αντην . [[β]]ρυτερ [κιν υπ ωτειλησι δαμασθεις  
 204 οια μεθυσαλεων ετερ[οκλινεων τε καρηνον  
 205 αυταρ επειτ' επι γαιαν υ[ποκλαδον εξετανυσθη  
 ως ο γ' επι ψαμαθου κεκα[φηοτα γυια τανυσσεν  
 δ]η ρα τοτ' εγκονεου[σι πολυ πλεον αιψα δ υπερθε  
 π]α[ν]τες ερεικάμεν[οι κρατεροικι δεους υπο δεσμοικ

→

τυμπανα δ εκτυπεον και κυμβαλα] χερσι κ[ροταινον  
 παιδος κλαυθυριδων προκαλυμ]ματα πρωτα [δ εφαινον  
 οργια κευθομενη περι λαρνακι σ]υν δ' αρα τή[ς] [ι]γ  
 250 Αονιαι λαθρηι τελετων απτοντο] γυναικες  
 εκ δ ορεος πιστηικιν αγερμοσυ]νην εταροικιν  
 εντυον ιθυσαι Βοιωτιδος] εκτοθι γαιης·  
 μελλε γαρ ηδη μελλεν ανημερ]ος η πριν εουσα  
 γαια φυτηκομειν υπο λυσι]πόνωι Διονυσι·

255 Χηλον δ αρρητην ιερος χο]ρος αειρασαι  
 στεψαμεναι νωτοιειν] επεστηριξαν δνοιο·  
 Ευριπου δ ικανον επ ηι]ογας ενθα κικανον  
 πρεσβυν ομου τεκεεσσιν αλ]ιπλοον· αμφι δε πασα[ι  
 γριφεας ελλισσοντο βυθους α]κάτοιει περιησαι

↓  
 195 [πυκνησει τανυρροισιειν] restored *exempli gratia* with the preferable readings: -ησει AK<sup>2</sup>M:  
 -οσει BK<sup>1</sup>L and -οιζ- K: -ιζ- AB.

196 ανηγυς[τοιειν with AB: ανηγυτοιειν GKLM<sup>2</sup>: ανηγητοιειν M<sup>1</sup>.

[απειπαμενος] restored with majority of MSS (απειπαμενος xK: απειπαμειος M): επισπομε-  
 νος L.

197 [βραβηια] restored *exempli gratia* with xK<sup>2</sup>LM: βραβειια K<sup>1</sup>.

198 αποσταει [. Probably corrected to αποσταλαει by supralinear letters. The omission of the  
 syllable is perhaps due to haplography, and to αποσταλαω being a verb only attested in Oppian (see  
 C. 3.370), the normal form being αποσταλαζω.

[δε] restored *exempli gratia* with xLM: τε K.

[εχειρον] restored with the conjecture of Wernicke: χειρον A2z.

[αιματοεντα] restored with the correct reading of A<sup>2</sup>K<sup>2</sup>LM: αιματοεσσα K<sup>1</sup>.

199 εικελος: ικελος A<sup>2</sup>z. The conjecture of Schottus is confirmed. Faint trace of a horizontal  
 stroke under the initial ε, possibly a paragraphus marking the beginning of a simile?

[ερειδει] restored *exempli gratia* with A<sup>2</sup>z: ερειδων x.

200 κρατος: βροτος xK<sup>2</sup>M: βροτον K<sup>1</sup>: κροτον L. κρατος in the sense of 'powerful person' (cf.  
 Opp. H. 1.3) seems to be the *lectio difficilior*, easily corrupted to the more banal βροτος (possibly influ-  
 enced by βροτοιειν in 197) or to the meaningless κροτον. It is suitable for the comparison with the lion,  
 described as μεγαληιωρ in 4.179 and compared to another ανδρα κραταιον in 4.189. Eutecnius' prose  
 paraphrase has πυκτην γενναιον (p. 220.4-5 Parathomopoulos).

πολλη[ειν: πολλοισιν MSS. The last trace is an upright incompatible with σ, and κοτινος 'wild  
 olive-tree' is a feminine noun in Theoc. 5.32, 100, 27.11.

[ερεψαμενοι] restored with K<sup>1</sup>: ερεψαμενος xK<sup>2</sup>LM.

201 αγ[ωειν restored with xK<sup>2</sup>M: αγωνι K<sup>1</sup>L.

202 .. [β]ρυτερ . The corrector's interlinear insertion (in *scriptio plena*) agrees with the reading  
 of the majority of MSS (δ' αςυτερηειν xKL: δαυτερηειν M). The original scribe's reading shows  
 evidence of deletion, most likely by the second hand. The first letter is almost completely abraded,  
 with only a few traces of ink visible at line bottom. The second consists partly of an upright, with  
 some traces in the top right.

[ωτειλησει] restored with xKM: ωτειλασει L.

The diplo obelismene below 202 marks the omission of 203, which is unanimously transmitted  
 by the mediaeval MSS. The missing verse may have been inserted by the corrector in the lost upper  
 or lower margin.

204 μεθυεφαλεων with A<sup>2</sup>GKL: μεθυ εφαλεων β: μεθυεφαλεην M. The hyphen, perhaps  
 written by the second hand, indicates that this is the compound verb, whose sole witness in Greek  
 literature is this passage.

ετερ[οκλιεων restored with A<sup>2</sup>Gz: ετεροκληεων A<sup>1</sup>: ετερακλονεων β.

205 *αυταρ*. Small trace of a horizontal stroke under *υ*, possibly a paragraphus marking a minor pause.

206 *ψαμαθου* with γKM: *ψαμάθω* L: *ψαμάθοιο* A.

207 *δη ρα: οί δε* MSS. The Homeric *δή ρα τότε* occurs at the beginning of the verse in C. 2.80 and 3.415, but there it is correlated with *ότε/όπότε*. The second hand has written *δε* over *ρα* and can safely be assumed to have written *οί* in the lacuna above *δη*. Eutecnius' prose paraphrase has *οὕτως οὖν οί* (p. 220.7 Papathomopoulos), which seems closer to *οί δε*.

*εγκοιτου[ει]* with the majority of MSS: *έν κονίησι* K<sup>1</sup>L.

[*υπερθε*] restored with GK: *υπερθεν* ALM.

208 *ερεϊκάμεν[οι: ερεϊσσάμενοι* A<sup>2</sup>: *ερυσσάμενοι* xKL: *ερυσάμενοι* M. The papyrus confirms the conjecture proposed by J. Pierson, *Versimilitum libri duo* (1752) 174, and adopted by P. Boudreaux in his edition (1908). The majority of MSS' *ερυσσάμενοι* is retained by Papathomopoulos and defended by T. Silva Sánchez, *Sobre el texto de los Cynegética de Oriano de Aramea* (Cádiz 2002) 191–2. Eutecnius has *κατεργασάμενοι* (p. 220.8 Papathomopoulos).

→

247 [*τυμπανα δ εκτυπεον και κυμβαλα*] restored *exempli gratia* with A<sup>2</sup>γLM: *κύμβαλα δ' . . . και τύμπανα* K.

248 [*κλαυθυριδων*] restored *exempli gratia* with A<sup>2</sup>z: *κλαυθυριζ++* A<sup>2</sup>: *κλαυθυριμων (-ίμων* B) BC<sup>1</sup>E: *κλαυθυρινον* C<sup>2</sup>G: *κλαυθυριμωνος* D: *κλαυμών* F: *κλαυθυριθμών* I. The word *κλαυθυρίς* is a hapax, and should have the same meaning as the more common *κλαυθυρικμός; κλαυθυρικμών* is actually the reading of some manuscripts, but it does not fit the hexameter and is likely to be a trivialization. The conjectures posited by Lehrs and Brunk, *κλαυθυριμών* and *κλαυθυριών* respectively, could also be accommodated in the lacuna.

249 *τή[ις]ν* with A<sup>2</sup>γLM: *τοίσι* A<sup>2</sup>K.

250 [*Αονιαι*] restored with majority of MSS. (*Αόνιαι* correctly x: *άονίαι* BGz): *α+ν+α+* A<sup>2</sup>: *άονία* A<sup>2</sup>.

251 *αγερμocu]νην* restored with Brodaeus: *άτερμοσύνην* xK: *άτερμοσύνη* LM.

*εταροικιν* with K<sup>1</sup>: *έταρῆσιν* xK<sup>2</sup>LM. The corrector probably intended *έτέρησιν*, which may correspond to the reading implied by Eutecnius' paraphrase (*καταμηνύειν αὐτίκα ταίς έτέραις*, p. 221.14–15 Papathomopoulos).

252 [*εντυον*] restored with xL: *έντυνον* BGz.

*εκτοθι* with xKM: *έκτοθε* A<sup>2</sup>L.

254 [*φυτηκομειν*] restored with γz: *φυτικομέειν* A.

255 [*αρρητην*] restored *exempli gratia* with Brodaeus' conjecture: *άρήτην* AB<sup>1</sup>L: *άρήτην* G: *άρητην* KM.

256 [*στεψαμεναι*] restored with AGz: *πεψάμεναι* B.

*ονοιο* with the majority of manuscripts: *οίνοιο* L.

257 [*Ευριπου*] restored with G: *-ππου* ABz.

258 [*πρεσβυν*] restored with xKL: *πρέσβιν* M.

*αλ]ιπλοσιν*. The corrector's *άλίπλανον* is the reading of all MSS. The original scribe's *άλίπλοον* is possibly an erroneous correction of this rare adjective.

259 [*γριφεας ελλισσοντο βυθους*] restored *exempli gratia* with MSS. consensus: *ελλισσοντο* xLM (*έλ-* M / *έλιςσοντο* L): *έλλισσοντο* K; *βυθους* xKL: omitted in M. Brodaeus has conjectured *γριπέας*.

*α]κάτοιει* with ABK<sup>2</sup>: *άκάτηςι* GM: *άμα ποσσί* K<sup>1</sup>.

## 5279. [HERMOGENES], PROGYMNASMATA 9.6-8, 10.4-7

I 1B.211/A(x)

7.3 × 10.6 cm

Sixth century  
Plate IX

A fragment from a leaf of a papyrus codex. Margins of 2.5 cm are preserved on → (right) and ↓ (left). Both sides contain 21 lines, with an average of 25-26 letters per line. About 25 lines are missing between → and ↓, indicating that the codex contained around 46 lines per page and had an overall format of about 12 × 30 cm, thus falling into Turner's Group 8 (*Typology* 21).

The script is of the 'Sloping Pointed Majuscule' type, written in brown ink. It is well spaced and generally bilinear; the baseline is broken by the descenders of γ, ρ, φ, and ψ, while the tops of φ and ψ rise above. Notable features are as follows: the middle stroke of μ forms a curve that touches or comes very close to the baseline; the horizontal stroke of Δ extends beyond the oblique strokes; ο is slightly smaller, sitting high on the line; the arms of κ are in some cases detached from the upright; letters sometimes touch and become smaller at line end in order to maintain a justified margin. The contrast between thick and thin strokes and the frequent use of ornamental roundels at the end of horizontal strokes suggest a date not earlier than the sixth century (see Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEBP* 86). For comparable hands, cf. P. Berol. 11754 + 21187 = BKT IX 90 (*GBEBP* 39a) and XV 1818 (*GBEBP* 23b).

There are no accents or lectional signs except for inorganic diaereses (→ 6, ↓ 19). Iota adscript is not present, and iotacistic spellings occur in ↓ 12 and 15. Blank spaces appear to mark both pauses and full stops. There is an omission in ↓ 11 that might be marked by a marginal sign; however, due to the lacuna we cannot establish which specific symbol was used (see ↓ 11 n.).

5279 is the first papyrus to preserve parts of [Hermogenes'] *Progymnasmata*, specifically sections of *περὶ ἠθοποιίας* and *περὶ ἐκφράσεως*; until now the only papyrus evidence for any author of Greek progymnasmata was P. Cairo temp. inv. no. 26/6/27/1-41, preserving 16 lines of Theon's *Progymnasmata* (see L. Koenen in *Studia Papyrologica* XV (1976) 53-4, 67-9; M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 23-4; G. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (2003) 1-72). The codex may have contained the entirety of the *Progymnasmata*, considering that the fragment preserves two of the exercises in the same order transmitted in the mediaeval manuscripts, assuming that → is the first page. The manuscript tradition of the progymnasmata ascribed to Hermogenes is divided into three branches: a now lost Greek text of the sixth century used by Priscian for his Latin translation, which would be roughly contemporary with 5279; the branch represented by the manuscripts Ph and Pg, both from the tenth century; and the manuscripts Lb and A, from the fourteenth and fifteenth century respectively. The indirect tradition is represented by John of Sardis and John Doxapatres, whose quotations of

[Hermogenes] seem to be independent of the three branches mentioned above (see M. Patillon, *Corpus Rhetoricum* i (2008) 170–6). 5279 does not side with any of the traditions closely, suggesting that the formation of the mediaeval families occurred after the sixth century:

For collation, and restoration of the text *exempli gratia*, I have relied on Patillon's *Corpus Rhetoricum* i (2008), but the Teubner of Rabe (1913) has also been consulted.

→

]. [                    το πα

θος οιον π]οιους αν ειπ[οι λο                    (9.6)

γους Ανδρομα]χη επι Εκτο[ρι η

θικαι δε εν αι]ς επικρατει τ[ο η

3 θος οιον τι]νας αν ειποι λο[γους

γεωργος πρ]ωτον ἴδων ναυ[ν

μικται δε αι σ]υνοδον εχουσαι

οιον τινας αν ε]ιποι λογους Αχιλ

λευς επι Πατρ]οκλω και γαρ το πα

10 θος δια την το]ν Πατροκλου σφα

γην και το ηθ]ος εν ω περι του π[ο

λεμου βουλευ]εται η δε εργασια

κατα τους τρ]εις χρονους προει

σι και αρξη ]ε [απ]ο των παρον

15 των οτι χαλεπ]α ειτα αναδραμ[η

προς τα προτερ]α οτι πολλης ε[υδαι

μονιας μετεχον]τα ειτα ε . . [τα μελ

λοντα μεταβη]θι οτι πολλ[ω δεινο

τερα τα κατα]ληψο[μ]ενα ες[τω δε

20 και σχηματ]α και λ[εξει]ς πρ[οσφο

ροι τοις υποκ]ειμ[ενοις προσωποις

↓

σ.2 ] . . . . [ σ.3 ]τα το[υς φοβους                    (10.4)

τας σ]υμβολας τας [σφαγας τους

θαν]ατους ειτα το [τροπαιον ει

τα] τους παιοντας [των νενικη

5 κο]των των δε τα [δακρυα την δου  
 λειαν εαν δε τοπ[ους εκφραζω  
 μεν η χρονους η [προσωπα εξο  
 μεν τινα εκ της διηγησεως και  
 εκ του καλου η χρ[ησιμου η πα  
 10 ραδοξου λογον [αρεται δε εκφρα  
 σεως μαλιστα με[ν c.8 ερ  
 μηνιαν δια της α[κοης σχεδον  
 την οψιν μηχαν[ασθαι ετι μεν  
 τοι συνεξομοι[ουσθαι τα της  
 15 φ]ρασεως οφειλει [τοις πραγμασιν  
 αν] αυθηρον το [πραγμα εστω  
 και] η λεξις τοια[υτη αν αυχημη  
 ρον] το πραγμα [εστω και η λεξις  
 παρ]απλ[ησι]α ιστ[εον δε ως των  
 20 ακρι]βες[τερ]ων τ[ινες ουκ εθηκαν  
 ]....[

→ 1-6 [το πα][[θος οιον π]οιους αν ειπ[οι λο][[γους Ανδρομα]χη επι Εκτο[ρι η][[θικαι δε εν αι]ς  
 επικρατει τ[ο η][[θος οιον τι]ρας αν ειποι λο[γους] | [γεωργος πρ]ωτον ιδων ναμ[ν: the papyrus pre-  
 serves the word order found in Phg and Priscian (also accepted by Patillon), where the definition of  
 the ηθικαι ηθοποιαι belongs to a δε-clause following a μεν-clause focused on the παθητικαι ηθοποιαι  
 (παθητικαι μεν . . . ηθικαι δε). Lb and A reverse the μεν/δε sequence (ηθικαι μεν . . . παθητικαι δε;  
 but A omits part of the passage by homeoteleuton).

4-5 επικρατει τ[ο η][[θος with Phg (*obtinens mores* Priscian); Lb and A read διόλου and όλου  
 respectively between επικρατει and το, but there is not enough space to accommodate either adverb.  
 Moreover, at the end of 4 there is a small trace of ink in the upper part of the line that is more com-  
 patible with the horizontal stroke of τ.

6 πρ]ωτον with LbA, John of Sardis, Priscian (*primum*): πρώτος Pg: πρώτως Ph.

7-8 ε]υνοδον εχουσαι | [οιον with Phg and Priscian (*quae utrumque habent ut*): ευνοδον εχουσαι  
 ηθους και πάθους οιον LbA: ευνοδον εχουσαι ηθος και πάθος οιον John of Sardis.

9 επι Πατρ]οκλω restored with Phg Lb: επί τῷ Πατρόκλῳ A. The reading in A seems too long  
 for the space. There is also blank space following Πατρ]οκλω that might mark a full stop.

12 The space suggests βουλευ]εται with Phg A Priscian (*cogitantis*): βούλεται Lb.

14 .]ε. Space permits either γε Phg Lb or τε A.

15 Blank space marking a full stop before ειτα.

16 Blank space, smaller than the previous one, marking the end of the clause before οτι.

17 Blank space before ειτα marking a full stop.

ε . . : it is uncertain whether the papyrus has ἐπι with Ph LbA or εις with Pg dett. The remaining  
 traces of ink are indicative of neither π nor ι.

18 Blank space marking the end of the clause before οτι.

πολλ[ω restored with Ph LbA: πολλῶν Pg dett. The scribe does not maintain a justified margin, so space could accommodate either.

21 The tops of εἰ and the central stroke of μ are visible.

↓

1 αν might be read, though with great difficulty, at line beginning, and thus reconstruction to τα] αιαλ[ωμα]τα το[υς φοβους might be possible.

2 ε]μβολας with LbA: συμπλοκάς Phg.

3 Blank space before ειτα marking the beginning of the new section.

το with LbA: omitted Phg.

4 παιοντας: παιάνας MSS. The reading is nonsense, and thus most likely a scribal mistake made during the process of copying παιάνας.

5 δε τα with MSS: δὲ (ἡττωμένων) τὰ Heeren (Priscian *qui uicti sunt*).

6 Blank space before εαν marking the beginning of a new sentence.

τοπ[ους with Ph Lb dett. Priscian (*loca*): χρόνους A.

8 τινα εκ with LbA: τινα και εκ Phg Priscian (*et*).

10 λογοι with LbA Priscian (*rationem*): λόγου Phg.

11 There does not seem to be enough space for the reading of the mediaeval MSS, ἐκφράσειω μάλιστα μὲν σαφήνεια καὶ ἐνάργεια: δεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. The obvious homoioteleuton between σαφήνεια and ἐνάργεια may have caused an omission. But between 11 and 12 the scribe clearly copied ερ]μηνίαν. Even if καὶ ἐνάργεια was lost, there is still not enough space for the transmitted text. Notably, there is an exiguous ink trace in the left margin that could be a pen stroke (see for example X 1232 fr. 1 col. ii 3; LXVIII 4660 col. ii 98) or an *ancora* (see XIII 1617 Fol. 1 recto 19) marking the problem (see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 11–13, 15–17).

11–12 [ερ]μηνίαν l. ἐρμηνείαν.

15 σφιλει l. ὀφείλει.

21 τὴν ἐκφράσειν] εἰς γ[υμνασμα] ωε may be reconstructed here.

C. ITURRALDE

### 5280. THEMISTIUS VI 71D–72A, 72D–73A

93/Dec.23/I.1

6.3 × 7.3 cm

Fifth/sixth century  
Plates VIII–IX

Fragment of a leaf from a papyrus codex with remains of 12 lines on ↓ and 14 on →. The average number of letters per line is 29, suggesting a column width of at least 12 cm. No margins survive. Approximately 32 lines are missing between ↓ and →. On the basis of these data, we can reconstruct a codex of c.44 lines per page. The written area was most likely around 12 × 25 cm. Assuming margins of at least 2–3 cm, the leaf would possibly fall within Turner's Group 5 or 6 (*Typology* 16–18).

The papyrus is written in a fast, medium-sized, sloping majuscule. Letter spacing is more or less regular, but letters often touch. The scribe achieves some chiaroscuro effect, although the contrast between thick horizontal and thin vertical and oblique strokes is not consistent. The script is roughly bilinear, except for the



descenders of ρ, φ, ζ, γ and the bottom bowl of β. There is some slight decoration in the tail of ζ and the tiny ornamental hook on the foot of φ. α has a rounded loop. β is tall and has a broad rounded base. The horizontals of ε and θ extend to the right. η is sometimes broad and has a high cross-bar. The uprights of μ have slightly curved feet, often touching the letter on the right, and the central element is deep. ν is executed in three strokes, but in some cases its oblique and right-hand upright appear to be drawn in one movement; as a result, ν sometimes resembles μ. γ occasionally appears in a V-shape with a smaller or bigger tail. ω is broad and well-rounded.

A *terminus post quem* for the codex is AD 364, when Themistius delivered this speech before the Emperor Valens; see R. Maisano, *Discorsi di Temistio* (1995) 108, and H. Leppin and W. Portmann, *Themistios: Staatsreden* (1998) 13-14, 113. Taking into consideration the date of the oration, the ink type, and the codex format, the hand is datable to either the fifth or sixth century. For comparable hands and letter shapes, cf. PSI II 126 (*GBEBP* 15b, assigned to the early fifth century), XV 1818 (*GBEBP* 23b = W. Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique* 148-74, assigned to the early sixth century), and 1817 (*GBEBP* 28a = Lameere, *Aperçus* 175-90, assigned to the mid sixth century).

There is an organic diaeresis in a ligatured form (↓ 7 ὕμιν), one instance of crasis (→ 3 ταυτον), and iotacistic spelling (↓ 11). Iota adscript is written in most cases, with very few exceptions.

This is the first papyrus of Themistius' Φιλάδελφοι ἢ περὶ φιλανθρωπίας (VI) to be published. To date, the only other papyrus witness of Themistius is Pap. Brux. XIII 12 (= MPER N.S. 3 62), a codex of the late fourth or fifth century containing the end of an unknown speech and the beginning of Πρεσβευτικὸς ὑπὲρ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ῥηθεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ (III). 5280 usually agrees with A, which preserves the most reliable tradition, and notably once with Ψ (αοριστον against ακριτον), whose variants Schenkl considered of little value (see H. Schenkl, *WS* 20 (1898) 239-43). The papyrus also offers two otherwise unattested variants: ↓ 2 διαλ]εξεσθαι (for διαλέγεσθαι); ↓ 7 δε ὕμιν (for δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν).

For reports of readings of the mediaeval manuscripts, and restoration of the text *exempli gratia*, I have relied on the Teubner of H. Schenkl and G. Downey, *Themistii Orationes quae supersunt* i (1965).

↓

εξη|γητη]ν υπερ ω[ν εμελλε τωι βασιλει (71d)

διαλ]εξεσθαι εγω δε [ευξαιμην αν  
τους α]παντας ανθρωπο[υς γενεσθαι (72a)

διακον]ους μοι και ερμην[εας του μελ  
5 λοντος λ]ογου ουτω πεποιθα [μαλλον

τη διαν]οιαι των ρηθησομεν[ων η τοις ο  
 νομας]ι παντως δε υμιν {κριτεον τους λο  
 γους ου] τα ρηματα εξεταζ[οντας αλλα  
 την γνωμ]ην και μαλιστα γε τ[ων φιλο  
 10 σοφειν προσποιο]υμενων εχει {γαρ ουτως  
 ανωθεν ω βασ]ιλης ευνοια κα[ι συγγενεια  
 βασιλειαι προς] φιλο[σοφιαν] εστ[ι και επι

→

ουν κακως η] τρ[αγ]ωδια [και προς γε (72d)  
 ετι κακιον οτ]αν θεον λεγη την [τυραννι (73a)  
 δα και γαρ ο]υτως εις ταυτον πλ[ημμελημα  
 περιστα]ται ο γαρ θεος ο τι περ [ακροτα  
 5 τον της σ]οφιας μαλλον δε αυ[τοσο  
 φια και εξ]ην τωι Ευριπιδη[ι αναβλε  
 ψαντι ει]ς τον ουρα[ν]ον κατα[μαθειν  
 και διδαχ]θηναι οτι μη τυραν[νιδος  
 ε.3 ευδα]ιμονος βασιλεας ευ[δαιμονα  
 10 εργα ου] προς εξουσιαν αορις[τον χρω  
 μενης τ]ηι της δυνα[μ]εως πε[ριουσιαι  
 αλλα κα]τα τους νομου[ς τους εαυτης  
 διεξιου]σης [ ε.5 ]α αιω[να ους αυτη  
 ε.15 . . [ ε.10

↓

2 διαλ]εξεσθαι: διαλέγεσθαι MSS. Although a new reading, the future infinitive is not surprising. With μέλλω either reading is grammatically sound.

εγω. Trace of supralinear ink over ε that looks like a possible grave accent, though not likely given the amount of surviving text and the lack of accents overall. Possibly accidental.

[αν] restored with AΘΥ: omitted Ψυ.

3-4 [γενεσθαι] | [διακον]ους μοι with AΨΥ: μοι γενέσθαι διακόνοους Θ.

4 ερμη]εας restored with the correct reading in AΨΘΥ: έρμηναίους υ.

7 παντως δε υμιν: πάντως δε και ύμίν MSS. Although και can be taken as emphatic, it is not necessary, nor is it found with any other instance of πάντως δε in Themistius: cf. *Or.* 11.148b 29; in *APo.* 5.1, 16, 24 Wallies; in *Ph.* 5.2, 80, 19 Schenkl.

υμιν: for ligatured diaeresis, cf. LXXIII 4933 introd. p. 10.

9-10 τ[ων φιλο]||[σοφειν] restored on grounds of space with Θ: τους των φιλοσοφείν AΨ: τους των φιλοσόφων υ. The reading of AΨ is preferable, but would create a rather long line. Pantin and

Petauius have suggested τῶν τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. For τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων, cf. Lucian *Nigr.* 24.3; D. C. 52.36.4.1; D. Chr. 49.12.8; Porph. *Plot.* 10.1.

10 [γὰρ] restored on the basis of space with ΑΨΥ: δὲ γὰρ Θ.

11 βασιλῆς I. βασιλεῖς with MSS. An iotacistic spelling is more likely than the Old Attic form of the plural vocative in -ῆς instead of -εῖς (on which see Kuhner-Blass, *Grammatik* i 449 and Threatte, *Grammar* 239-47).

εὐνοια κα[ι εὐγένεια] restored with ΑΘΥ: εὐνοια καὶ εὐμέθεια Ψυ. Space could accommodate either. Yet it would only take a somewhat cursive exemplar to remind one how palaeographically close εὐγένεια and εὐμέθεια could be. Reading εὐμέθεια is tautological.

→

3 ταυτον with ΑΨΘ: ταῦτό Υ.

5 της] restored with ΑΘΥ based on average line lengths: omitted Ψ.

6 και εξ]ην restored with ΑΘΥ: ἐξῆν δε Ψ.

8 οτι μη: the papyrus agrees with manuscript consensus and does not confirm modern corrections, namely Pantin's and Petau's (καὶ) ὅτι οὐ and Harduin's ὅτι οὐ.

8-9 The transmitted ὅτι μὴ τυραννίδος ἐστὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἀλλ' εὐδαίμονος βασιλείας does not fit the space. Presumably the papyrus omitted ἐστὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ. The resulting text, with only [αλλευδα] or [αλλαευδα] in lacuna, is still grammatical.

10-11 αορις[τον χρω][μεινης] restored with Ψυ: ἄκριτον ἀποχρωμένης ΑΘΥ (Υ ἀποχρωμένοις). The ο would be an odd oblong shape, cf. e.g. the oblong ο in → 8; the remaining ink is definitely not κ. There is not enough space to accommodate the preverb ἀπο-. Harduin and Maisano accept Ψυ, while Dindorf preferred ἄκριτον ἀποχρωμένης.

13 [ ε5 ]α: τὸν ἅπαντα MSS. The transmitted sequence is too long for the space, which can however accommodate ἅπαντα, without the article.

C. CHRYSANTHOU

## IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

### 5281. LIST OF HOMERIC NAMES

25 3B.58/A(b)

6.1 × 9.6 cm

Early first century  
Plate X

A single fragment bearing a list of three Homeric names, written on both sides. On → the upper margin is 1 cm, the lower 4.1 cm; similarly, on ↓ the upper margin is 0.4 cm, the lower 4 cm. On → the left margin is 1.9 cm, whereas no right margin is securely preserved. On ↓ the left margin is 0.8 cm, the right one 1 cm. On → the extant written area is 4.1 × 4.3 cm, while in ↓ it is roughly 4.2 × 5 cm. There are traces of washed-out letters on → 3 before the extant central ο (apparently [[αρκ]]); scanty and faded traces of previous and erased writing appear also above the numeral of → 1.

The writing is rather heterogeneous, and one may wonder how many hands are at work here: the → side is probably the work of one hand (H<sub>1</sub>), who apparently used a thicker pen to write the slightly larger numeral in the middle of the line at 1 and 3. However, the possibility that these numerals have been written by a different hand, H<sub>3</sub>, is not to be ruled out (see below). With regard to the ↓ side the assessment is more problematic: the first 4 lines may well be the work of the same hand as the → side: it certainly appears less accurate, but this may be due to the fact that the writer was getting tired, on the assumption that he/she was a schoolboy/-girl, as I argue below. The last two lines of the ↓ side look definitely clumsier and may represent another writer (H<sub>2</sub>). H<sub>1</sub> is an upright, formal round capital, slowly written and bilinear (in ↓ the descenders of ρ, η, ι, κ, and π slightly extend beneath the lower notional baseline, but probably because the execution becomes worse, as noted above). Many letters have finials. ζ (→ 1) has long, parallel horizontal strokes, but a very short central one; ο (→ 3) is perfectly rounded. On ↓ H<sub>1</sub> presents a few slips of the pen (e.g. blurred ink around the arms of κ at 3, as well as the left leg of η at 4; moreover, the ι at 3 appears to be a later addition). On → there are more finials (cf. λ, ρ, η, λ at 2, ν, π, γ) than on ↓.

The type of exercise, the slow execution, the irregular alignment (cf. → 2, 4), as well as phonetic spellings (see below) suggest that H<sub>1</sub> is a learner's hand. For how to distinguish a school hand, see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 91–2. According to the school-hands typology outlined by Cribiore, *Writing* 111–12, H<sub>1</sub> might be ascribed to the 'alphabetic hand' type, or to a slightly more advanced level. The size (c.0.3 cm) is slightly smaller than the average for this type of exercise (c.0.5 cm: cf. Cribiore, *Writing* 105). As mentioned above, before the central ο on → 3 there are traces of previous writing and after it

two letters (ON) still visible to the naked eye; the line that is right above the central o (see discussion below) appears to have been written in the same ink. One may wonder whether we have a third hand (H<sub>3</sub>) or the same hand (H<sub>1</sub>) using a thicker pen.

H<sub>2</sub> copies on ↓ 5–6 part of what H<sub>1</sub> has written on ↓ 1–4 (namely the two names in 2–3), the two sections (1–4 and 5–6) being separated by a long paragraph (see below). H<sub>2</sub> apparently uses a poorly sharpened pen (especially at the end of ↓ 5). According to Cribiore's typology, *Writing* 111–12, H<sub>2</sub> may be classified as of the 'zero-grade hand' type: it is slowly written, with some overworked finials. The shape of the letters is not consistent (cf. e.g. λ); some of them are inscribed in a rectangular frame rather than in a square one (η, π); ε sometimes has no central crossbar; in ↓ 5 the λ has very reduced dimension; in ↓ 6 the wide κ touches the following letter with the prolonged lower oblique; ρ is long and has a very tiny bowl. This hand is significant as it is an example of zero-grade hand practising lists of words, which, according to Cribiore, *Writing* 131–3, is a rare combination.

School exercises are difficult to date with precision because 'school hands remain unchanged for centuries' (Cribiore, *Writing* 117). In any case it is worth noticing a few important features of H<sub>1</sub>: the peculiar shape of γ, typical of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, and the fact that the mid-stroke of ε is detached from the arc. The latter feature can be related to the 'epsilon-theta' style (cf. G. Cavallo, 'Lo stile di scrittura "epsilon-theta" nei papyri letterari: dall'Egitto ad Ercolano', in idem, *Il calamo e il papiro: la scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* (2005) 123–8). For an objectively dated example of 'epsilon-theta' style, cf. XXX 2508 (the *terminus ante quem* is first century AD; Cavallo, 'Lo stile di scrittura "epsilon-theta"' 127 n. 19, proposes to backdate it to first century BC). Note also similarities with P. Köln III 126, assigned to the beginning of the first century BC (Cavallo–Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* no. 80) and with the scripts of the scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets from Nahal Hever, see P. J. Parsons, '7. The Scripts and Their Date', in E. Tov et al., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (1990) 19–26 (Parsons proposes the later first century BC, whereas Roberts suggests 50 BC – AD 50, and Skeat first century BC). 5281 can be reasonably assigned to the early first century AD.

There are no accents or breathings, but on → 1, 3 Ε and Ο have superscript lines, which provide them with numerical information; Ε̄ and Ο̄ seem in fact to refer respectively to *Il.* 14 and *Il.* 15, from which the following names (→ 2, 4) are copied. These marks were probably written by H<sub>1</sub>, the same hand who wrote the numbers, or H<sub>3</sub>. On ↓ 1 Ε is reproduced with no superscript stroke. The presence of strokes above *Iliad* book numbers is a feature of formal bookrolls (see for example F. Schironi, *To mega biblion: Book-ends, End-titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* (2010) no. 14 = P. Lond Lit. 11; no. 21 = PSI *Od.* 5; no. 23 = P. Köln Gr. IV 182; no. 28 = P. Hawara; no. 35 = PSI XI 1188; no. 42 = P. Lond. Lit. 5), and thus it is not surprising that it also occurs in a scribal exercise (BGU XX 2876)

where the hand is practising how to write the title of the third book of the *Iliad* (col. ii, 17, 20 Γ).

There is a paragraphus on the left margin of → 5, at the level of the baseline, marking the end of H<sub>1</sub>'s writing. As mentioned above, another punctuation sign occurs at ↓ 4–5, consisting of a long horizontal stroke to distinguish H<sub>1</sub> from H<sub>2</sub>: it was originally longer than it is now, and it is so straight that it was probably drawn by H<sub>1</sub>. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 86 calls this sign a quasi-paragraphus. It is commonly used in school contexts (Cribiore, *Writing* 76–82), e.g. for declensions (cf. BKT IX 199). Finally, on → 3, right above the central o, there is a stroke, nearly horizontal, slightly curved at its extremities so that it vaguely suggests a circumflex accent; it may belong to previous writing (by the same H<sub>1</sub>, who afterwards washed it out, or by H<sub>3</sub>?).

It is impossible to establish whether this fragment was part of an opistograph; the surviving text may have been preceded by hero names of books 12 (*M*) and 13 (*N*), and followed by 16 (*I*) and 17 (*P*). According to W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 142, in the pre-Roman or very early Roman period, rolls ca. 19–25 cm high were commonly used as literary rolls. Yet what remains of **5281** does not suggest this height. **5281** was most likely a papyrus sheet, not much bigger than it is now.

**5281** can be compared to other writing exercises. Lists of words are a common type of school exercise; cf. Cribiore, *Writing*, nos. 196–203; see also nos. 193, 209. In particular, no. 141 (*MPER NS XV* 43, Tafel 9, 3rd century) is a good parallel as it bears a list of two mythological names written multiple times in two different scripts (decorated block capital and fluent script influenced by chancery style, executed possibly by a student and a teacher respectively, or only by a teacher). In **5281** the first two names—Peneleus and Arcesilaus—belong to Boeotian heroes; they come first in the *Catalogue of the Ships* (*Il.* 2.494–5), together with Leitos, Prothoenor, and Konios. The other occurrences of Peneleus' name in the *Iliad* are *Il.* 14.487, 489, 496, 16.335, 340, and 17.597. Arcesilaus reappears only in *Il.* 15.329. The third hero, Epeigeus, occurs only in *Il.* 16.571. He came originally from the town of Boudeion and fled from there to the court of Peleus and Thetis; a *scholium* on this passage (*sch.* b(BCE<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>)T *Il.* 16.572) notes that Boudeion ought then to be outside the territory of the Myrmidons and speculates that there was a town of this name in Boeotia. Thus the three heroes seem to have in common not just the general fact that they are all Achaeans, but specifically their connection with Boeotia. So, perhaps in the background there is a list of Boeotian warriors, a learned list that added Epeigeus, speculatively, to those mentioned in the second book of the *Iliad*. That may be part of a catechism, like the Homeric catechism transmitted in P. Berol. 16706 (W. Luppe and G. Poethke, *APF* 45 (1999) 151–65; TM 66732, CPP 121), which contains a list of Greek commanders nation by nation, based on the second book of the *Iliad*, but the mention of specific books seems unusually advanced for this type of exercise. We may think of a scholarly work on the *Cata-*

*logue of Ships* (like that by Apollodorus: see Strab. 9.2.14; *FGHist* 2.14 F 154–207; cf. also [Apollod.] *Bibl. Epit.* 3.11–14), but, if so, the information and book numbers seem to have become severely garbled in this papyrus or its immediate source. The teacher's model might have consisted in a list of the occurrences of the *Catalogue's* characters in later books of the *Iliad*, but this notion would not work for Epeigeus, as he does not appear in the *Catalogue*. Perhaps the model was just a list of names of heroes drawn from books 14 to 16 (or more, if the fragment was part of a roll or a codex: see above). This theory might be bolstered by the fact that the second hero, Arcesilaus, occurs in *Il.* 15.329 in the accusative form, as it is here reproduced, suggesting that the names might have been mechanically copied from the relevant books.

Be that as it may, **5281** does not seem to have any close parallels, neither in format nor in grouping criterion: elsewhere, heroes are listed alphabetically (cf. e.g. *MPERNS XVIII* 238, an ostrakon containing three lists of mostly Homeric names) or grouped by alliance (cf. e.g. *LXV 4460*: fr. 1 bears a list of Achaean heroes from the *Iliad*, 'apparently in decreasing order of importance, most with their fathers and mothers', as the editor states (p. 76); on the other hand, fr. 2 is a list of gods with their genealogy); *LIII 3702* is a list of Greek leaders against Troy based on the *Catalogue*. There are also lists of characters from the same book of the *Iliad*: the ostrakon firstly published by J. G. Milne, *JHS* 28 (1908) 129, nos. 12–13 (re-edited with the addition of a new fragment by M. Huys and T. S. Schmidt, *APF* 48 (2002) 213–21), contains a hypothesis of *Il.* 20 including two lists of deities siding with the Trojans and the Achaeans respectively. However, no list seems to have **5281's** listing criterion, i.e. the name of one hero per book taken from a sequence of books.

Allowing some speculation, **5281** may be considered a simplified version of a common type of school exercise, 'Questions and answers': cf. the Homeric catechism section in *LVI 3829*; *PSI I* 19, another catechism on the *Iliad*; the similar *P. IFAO inv. 320* (*Ét. Pap.* 7 (1948) 93–109) (for a discussion of the genre of 'Homeric Catechism', see F. Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica* i (1979) 57–64). On the one hand, in all the examples both the questions and the answers are explicitly stated, and the answers tend to be written by the same hand that writes the questions. On the other, in **5281** the questions may be represented just by the book numbers written in the middle of → 1 and 3, and, if formulated in words, they would be: 'write the names of Boeotian heroes in books 14 and 15'; the (assumed) answers would actually consist just of the personal names. Then Epeigeus would have been added from book 16 without inserting the book number, probably by lapse. Alternatively, another hand, H<sub>3</sub>, possibly the teacher (cf. above), might have written the *Iliad's* book numbers 14 and 15 (= the 'questions') and left space between them for H<sub>1</sub> to fill it with hero names from these books (= the 'answers'); then H<sub>1</sub> carried on writing another name from *Il.* 16.

Cribiore, *Writing* 43, argues that mythologically or historically themed word-

lists were meant to help memorizing bits of texts rather than being spelling exercises *per se*; as opposed to the other word-lists, these tend not to present syllable division, nor are they arranged in groups of words with the same number of syllables. It is hard to say whether or not this notion can be applied to our case, but the structure of the exercise suggests other possibilities. **5281** is essentially the work of two different persons, H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>. H<sub>1</sub> is likely to have started from the → side: as the handwriting is less accurate on the ↓, the writer seems to get tired as he/she goes on with the exercise; cf. D. Colomo and R. Scholl, 'L'Ad Demonicum in un nuovo esercizio scolastico: P.Lips. Inv. 1027', in *STCPF* 14 (2007) 7–8, probably written by both a beginner and a more advanced student who is helping his/her colleague, as the editors argue. The impression, moreover, is that H<sub>1</sub> leaves such a large blank space on the → and on the ↓ in order for another student to fill it. If, as most likely, this is a school exercise, the student(s) could have copied a model written by a teacher; see Cribiore, *Writing* 31.

As a school exercise based on Homer, **5281** has several parallels. At school it was customary to copy short passages of the *Iliad*, especially from the first two books (cf. R. Cribiore, 'A Homeric Writing Exercise', *Tyche* 9 (1994) 4–5; eadem, *Writing* 46, 49, 64; eadem, 'Education in the Papyri', in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009) 329). In general, the first half of the *Iliad* was more studied than the second. Yet even those books that tended to be disregarded in antiquity, such as *Il.* 14, were not ignored in school papyri (Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (2001) 194–7). For a list of school exercises based on Homer, see R. Cribiore, 'Literary School Exercises', *ZPE* 116 (1997) 57–9, to which add P. Berol. 17598 (*APF* 40 (1998) 214–15, hypothesis); a fragment of an inscribed wooden board found at Kellis (*Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 51 (1998) 206–9); P. IFAO inv. 258 (*BIFAO* 101 (2001) 163–5); O. Petr. Mus. nos. 21–35 with 'Premessa', 3–7. In addition, P. Bagnall 13 and O. Col. 942 (*BASP* 45 (2008) 41–4) seem to be writing exercises for professional scribal training rather than school ones; note that the latter is penned by a single hand practising different styles. For a discussion on Homer-related subliterate genres on papyri, cf. F. Montanari, 'Gli *Homérica* su papiro: per una distinzione di generi', in G. Arrighetti (ed.), *Ricerche di filologia classica* II (1984) 125–38 (= Montanari, *Studi di filologia omerica antica* ii (1995) 69–85), M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, 'Greek Reader's Digests?' (1998) 53–74, and recently F. Pordomingo, 'Homero en los papiros escolares de época helenística', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri omerici* (2012) 243–71. For a list of 'Homérica' on papyri, see M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (2001) 129–36.

I wish to thank Professor Peter J. Parsons and Dr Daniela Colomo for useful suggestions.



→

$\Xi$ πηνελεος [.ρ.] $\bar{O}$ ον αρκεσιλα .[ 5 πηγευς	$\Xi$ Πηνέλεος [.ρ.] $\bar{O}$ ον Ἀρκεσίλαο[ν 5 Ἐπηγεύς
--	---

1 large-size  $\Xi$ , slightly off centre to the left; just above it there are traces of another  $\Xi$  of similar size, which has been erased, left-hand arc: c, o, or  $\omega$  3 [.ρ.], traces of three erased letters: first, perhaps λ, or, less likely, a small o; third, blurred traces in vertical alignment, tiny trace slightly below baseline, tiny vertical trace at mid-height touching O (κ?) large-size O, slightly off centre; above its horizontal stroke there is another slightly curving horizontal stroke, apparently belonging to previous writing ον, slightly faded, probably belongs to previous writing 4 [, upper and lower part of left-hand arc 5 remains of paragraphus on the left margin initial letter extremely faded

2 At first H1 wrote Πηνέλεος with omicron instead of Πηνέλεως (on o instead of  $\omega$ , see Gignac, *Grammar* i 276–7), a reading that a marginal *scholium* on *Il.* 13.92 ascribes to Aristophanes of Byzantium (*sch. Aim Il.* 13.92a: <Πηνέλεων>: διὰ τοῦ ο Ἀριστοφάνη “Πηνέλεον”). The round letter in the space above the final sigma could be taken as correction of the preceding omicron, i.e. Πενέλε[ο]ώς, probably by the same H1. This name occurs spelt correctly in the above mentioned catechism in P. Berol. 16706 (fr. A, recto, l. 10), together with Ἀρκεσίλαος. However, we cannot exclude that the letter belonged to previous writing, cf. → 3.

3 O. The number refers to *Il.* 15 (cf. → 4 below).

[.ρ.]: αρκ is a possible reading. There is not enough space for αρκεσιλαον, but a mistakenly spelt form of it could be accommodated (perhaps a form with one fewer syllable, e.g. αρκελαον induced by similarity with the mythological name Ἀρχελαος?): H1 might have written it wrong, then erased and rewritten it below. In this case, ον after O would belong to previous writing, even though it does not show traces of erasure. Alternatively—but less likely—ον could be an addition or correction meant for Ἀρκεσίλαο[ (by H1 or H3, see above).

4 Ἀρκεσίλαο[ν supplied on the basis of ↓ 3. The final ν could either be explained as an accusative form of Ἀρκεσίλαος (as it appears in *Il.* 15.329, cf. *Introd.*), or as a mistake for c (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 131–2). Given that O (i.e. *Il.* 15) precedes the name, the former alternative seems more likely.

5 Ἐπηγεύς: l. Ἐπειγεύς. On η instead of εἰ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 240–41.

↓

$\Xi$ πηνελε c αρκεσιλα ν επηγευς 5 πηνελεος αρκεσιλα[	$\Xi$ Πηνέλεος Ἀρκεσίλαον Ἐπηγεύς 5 Πηνέλεος Ἀρκεσίλα[ον
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1  $\Xi$ , slightly off centre to the left 2 ε, remains of stroke approaching horizontal at top line; very scanty traces on its left-hand extremity suggest a round letter (ε, o, or c;  $\omega$  excluded on

grounds of space) 3 κ, blurred ink around the arms ι, perhaps inserted at a second stage α, left-hand arc suggesting a round letter (space enough to accommodate even ω); a tiny curving trace on the left of the upper part of the left-hand arc gives some 'illusory' resemblance with γ

- 2 Πηνέλεος: on ο instead of ω, see → 2.
- 3 Ἀρκεσίλαος: for discussion on the final ν, see → 4.
- 4 Ἐππηγείος: on η instead of ει, see → 5.
- 5 Πηνέλεος: see ↓ 2.
- 6 Ἀρκεσίλα[ον] supplied on the basis of ↓ 3 and → 4.

A. DE MARINIS

**5282. HOMERIC ANTHOLOGY, ODYSSEY XX 365-70 (MORE OF P. KÖLN II 78)**

37 3B.87/B(1)

5.4 × 5.1 cm

First century BC/first century AD  
Plate IV

The bottom right corner of a column, written across the fibres, with a right margin of no less than 1.4 cm. A long horizontal line has been drawn at the bottom of the column, and there are mostly faint traces of ink in what appears to be a bottom margin, measuring 1.4 cm. The top right corner of the column is to be found in P. Köln II 78. The two fragments together make up the right-hand part of a complete column consisting of only 14 lines (assuming there were originally no plus-lines between the breaks in the fragments), with a height of c.7 cm and an original width that is likely to have been c.10-11 cm at its widest, as restored. We can calculate a roll height of c.9.5 cm, with a preserved top margin of 0.8 cm in P. Köln. Such a small format is perhaps significant. The other side of **5282** is blank, but on that of P. Köln there are traces of a document, written along the fibres.

The script can be classified as the 'Formal Round' type (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 21); it is a smallish and roughly bilinear round hand and appears to be competent on the whole, although not carefully executed, since interlinear space and letter spacing are uneven (note also the defective alignment of the letters in 368). Letter shapes may vary. Α appears in two different forms (either with two diagonal strokes and a horizontal middle bar—only in P. Köln—or with a single diagonal and a loop). A cursive form of ε occurs in 368, while in other instances this letter often shows the central stroke detached from the arc. Note also the descender of γ, which often points to the right. The central elements of μ consists of a curve that touches the baseline. The diagonal of Δ that descends from left to right usually begins before it meets the other diagonal. The right upright of Ν is sometimes placed higher than the left. The vertical of τ occasionally ends in a foot that points to the left, and its horizontal element sometimes touches the following letter, as do the diagonal of λ, the crossbar of ε, and the lower arm of κ in some cases. Decoration consists of serifs appearing at the feet of certain verticals, such as those of ρ in 352 and 357, ι

in 354, and κ in 367 (the first instance of κ in 367 appears to have a serif at the top of its vertical).

It is possible to assign the hand to the late Ptolemaic/early Roman period (first century BC/first century AD). Similar palaeographical features can be observed in XII 1453 = Roberts, *GLH* 8b (30-29 BC), but there are also later objectively dated hands that provide useful parallels, such as those in XXV 2435 = *GLAW*<sup>2</sup> 57, XLII 3020 (both early first century AD), and II 216 = Roberts, *GLH* 10a (first half of the first century AD). Roughly comparable literary scripts can be found in XLVII 3324, P. Col. VIII 196 (both assigned to first century BC/AD), XLII 3004, and LXVI 4501 (both assigned to first century AD).

It cannot be determined from what is preserved whether the scribe wrote in *scriptio plena*, nor whether he included iota adscript. Punctuation and diacritics are not in evidence.

**5282** attests to the endings of six of the seven lines that make up Theoclymenus' last speech in the *Odyssey* (only the first line, 364, is missing from the fragment), and the fact that it forms part of what is preserved in P. Köln demonstrates that it did not originally belong to a straightforward copy of *Odyssey* 20. P. Köln is peculiar in that it contains Theoclymenus' penultimate speech (20.351-7) immediately followed by the first line of his last (20.364); 20.358-63 are omitted, and 357 and 364 are separated by a larger interlinear space than the other lines and by a long horizontal line that corresponds to the one we find at the bottom of the column in **5282**. The result of the omission in P. Köln is the placing together of two complete speeches by Theoclymenus (20.351-7 and 20.364-70), which together make up a whole column. It is significant that Theoclymenus' penultimate speech begins at the top of a column and his last ends at the bottom; this may be purely coincidental, but it could indicate that the papyrus was either a scrap piece or a sheet cut from a larger sheet or a roll, used solely for the purpose of writing the two speeches by Theoclymenus on the back.

If coincidental, and the column was originally part of a roll (see *GLAW*<sup>2</sup> 21 and 39, for rolls of a similarly small format), we might follow Kramer, who, in her edition of P. Köln, concluded that we may have here a collection of speeches, or perhaps a collection of just Theoclymenus' speeches. The evidence in **5282** appears consistent with the hypothesis that the papyrus contained only the speeches of Theoclymenus; though we may add that in the context of a collection, or perhaps an anthology, of speeches, it would seem perfectly natural to exclude Eurymachus' short speech in 20.360-62, in which he derides Theoclymenus and requests that he be escorted outside. Parallels for such collections of speeches are, however, wanting. Alternatively, we could be dealing with a thematic selection of passages: cf. P. Berol. 9772 (BK<sup>1</sup> V.2 123-8, XX A; see F. Pordomingo, *Antologías griegas de época helenística en papiro*, *Papyrologica Florentina* XI.III, no. 34, 231-41) and P. Ross. Georg. I 9 (Pordomingo, *Antologías* no. 17, 136-8). It is particularly instructive that

we find 20.351–7 quoted in Plato's *Ion* (539a) in relation to τὰ τοῦ μάντεώς τε καὶ μαντικῆς (538e). Maybe the two speeches were included within a prose treatise on the art of prophecy, or were part of a larger collection of passages on that topic. It may even be worth raising the possibility that all four of Theoclymenus' prophetic speeches were recorded (15.531–4; 17.152–61; 20.351–7, 364–70), giving us two columns of 14 lines.

On the other hand, if we suppose that the pair of speeches were recorded on a scrap piece of papyrus or a stand-alone sheet, as seems probable, there are two likely possibilities. The uneven, coarse nature of the script, together with the presence of quasi-paragraphi after both passages (see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 81–2) and the fact that the text is written across the fibres on the back of a document (Cribiore, *Writing* 61–2), could point to the work of a school hand, and copying the two speeches by Theoclymenus may have been the object of an exercise. In this case, it would be possible to consider the script an 'evolving hand', or perhaps we should say an 'evolving formal hand' (Cribiore, *Writing* 112 and 115), and as such it would be comparable to the school exercises preserved in P. Vindob. G. 19999 A+B (= MPER N.S. III 24 and 25; Cribiore, *Writing* no. 257 + 262, pl. 1), P. Vindob. G. 29248 A (= MPER N.S. III 27; Cribiore, *Writing* no. 258, pl. xxviii), P. Vindob. G. 29248 B (= MPER N.S. III 28; Cribiore, *Writing* no. 261, pl. xxxii), P. Vindob. 29813 + P. Vindob. 29814 (= MPER N.S. III 30; Cribiore, *Writing* no. 263, pl. xxxi), and P. Vindob. G. 29812 (= MPER N.S. III 31; Cribiore, *Writing* no. 256, pl. xxviii), all of which have not only been assigned to the same hand (see M. S. Funghi, *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, i (2003) 12 n. 28), but also roughly to the same period as **5282**.

The other possibility, as suggested to me by the late Martin West, is that **5282** and P. Köln 78 belong to a manuscript of a Homeristes who was to play the part of Theoclymenus in a dramatized enactment of the Homeric scene (on the Homeristai see M. L. West, *ZPE* 173 (2010) 5); 351–7 and 364–70 are Theoclymenus' only speeches in this particular scene in Book 20, and thus all that would be needed by a Homeristes who was to play the role of Theoclymenus. If so, **5282** and P. Köln 78 would possibly be parallel to LXVII **4546** (Euripides, *Alcestis* 344–82 with omissions), which contains only the lines of Admetus whilst omitting all the intervening lines (i.e. those of Alcestis and the Chorus). For further examples of performance scripts preserved in papyri, see P. Leid. inv. 510 (Pordomingo, *Antologías* no. 2, 65–8) and P. Sorb. inv. 2252 (Pordomingo, *Antologías* no. 3, 69–74).

To date only one other published papyrus contains these particular lines, namely P. Ryl. I 53, a third- or fourth-century vellum copy of the entire *Odyssey* (the section 20.365–70 is preserved on fol. 71 verso). The only surprises in **5282** are in line 368, which seems to give us two readings that differ from the ones we find in the mediaeval tradition. Otherwise it appears to conform to the generally accepted manuscript readings. For reports of the readings given by mediaeval MSS, I have

relied on the editions of Ludwich (1889-91) and Allen (1975), as well as those of Von der Mühl (1984) and van Thiel (1991). All mediaeval MSS are specified according to the *sigla* of Ludwich.

Along with the edition of 5282 below, I have included the text of P. Köln II 78, replicating the edition by Kramer with minor changes based on an examination of an image of the fragment. It is important to note that there is an additional unplaced fragment to P. Köln 78; it can be described as a long panel, and is blank except for two medium-large letters written along the fibres.

	α δειλοι τι κακον τοδε πασχετ]ε νυκτι μεν υμεων	P. Köln II 78
	ειλυται κεφαλαι τε προσωπα τ]ε νερθε τε γουνα	
	οιμωγη δε δεδηε δεδακρυνται δ]ε παρειαι	
	αιματι δ ερραδαται τοιχοι καλαι] τε μεσοδμαι	
355	ειδωλων δε πλεον προθυρον πλ]ε[ι]η δε και αυλη	
356	ιενων Ερεβοςδε υπο ζοφον ηε]λιος δε	
357	ουρανου εξαπολωλε κακη δ επιδε]δρομεν αχλυς	
	]—————	
364	Ευρυμαχ ου τι σ ανωγα εμοι πομπη]ας οπαζην	
365	εισι μοι οφθαλμοι τε και ουατα] και π[ο]δ[ε]ς [...]. . . [	5282
	και νοος εν στηθεσσι τετυγμε]νος ουδεν αεικης	
	τοις εξειμι θυραζε επει νοε]ω κακον υμμι	
	]υιοι ουδετε . . το	
	μνηστηρων οι δωμα κατ αντιθ]εου Οδυσ{σ}ειος	
370	ανερας υβριζοντες ατασθαλα] μηχαναααθ . . [	
	]—————	

351-7, 364 These eight lines are preserved in P. Köln II 78. Since P. Köln and 5282 are detached from each other, it is at least possible that there were originally one or more plus-lines between 364 and 365. It seems reasonable, however, to present 5282 as immediately following P. Köln on the basis that no plus-lines between 364 and 365 are attested in any part of the tradition. The long horizontal line which separates the two speeches in P. Köln was drawn with ink that cannot be distinguished from that used for the text, and was evidently made by the original scribe as he was writing, judging from the fact that we find a markedly larger interlinear space between 357 and 364 than between any of the other lines. The line seems to stop short of the edge of the fragment, but there could well have been another one further along to the left.

365 ] και π[ο]δ[ε]ς [...]. . . [: και πόδες ἄμφω MSS. The first trace of the line—a short, low-lying diagonal line—is consistent with κ. Of ι there is the lower half of a vertical attached to the flick of λ, and of π a thin oblique line attached to a high horizontal bar, followed by the hint of another oblique. The two traces after ε[...] are too uncertain to enable us to supplement the end of the line: the first is a shallow bowl that could belong to the lower arc of ε or ε, the bottom of θ, ο, or the left-/right-hand element of ω, or the low-lying saddle of μ (or even the flick of λ?); the second may represent the end of the descender of φ or ψ, or could simply be misplaced ink. Depending on letter-spacing or whether Δ was originally broader than usual (as it is in 356), the space between Δ

and c could be too small for ε, and if so we could perhaps read καὶ π[ο]δ[ε] [c α]μφ[ω], where μ and φ would be consistent with the traces. Otherwise, there seems to be enough space even for three letters between c and the first of the two traces, in which case we could dismiss the second trace as misplaced ink and read καὶ π[ο]δ[ε] [αμφ]ω instead, though we would surely expect to be able to make out at least the bottom of the descender of φ before ω. The papyrus may, of course, have contained a different reading.

366 ]ν: the right upright and hint of a diagonal attached to its base can only belong to ν.

367 νοε]ω: the short, thin vertical line visible at the edge of the fragment is consistent with ω.

υμμι: ὕμμι(ν) (or ὕ-) MSS: ὕμιν U. The long diagonal line descending from left to right is consistent with the right-hand diagonal of μ, and the minute speck of ink to the left of it could be what survives of its first summit. The fact that some manuscripts have ὕμμι(ν) as opposed to ὕμμι(ν) (with the correct smooth breathing) is most likely due to confusion with ὕμιν. It is perhaps noteworthy that the scribe does not add a paragoric ν at the end of the line; it occurs in Roman papyri and mediaeval MSS in cases where the next line starts with a vowel, but previously it had been the almost invariable practice of Ptolemaic scribes in the third and second centuries BC to include a paragoric ν at line end no matter whether the following line began with a vowel or a consonant (see S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (1967) 17. and Mayser, *Grammatik* i 236-42). Later on, however, there seems to have been less of a tendency to include a paragoric ν on occasions when the next line started with a consonant, whereas the practice of adding a paragoric ν in cases where lines began with a vowel appears to have been continued (see G. M. Bolling, *CPh* 40 (1945) 182). This raises the question of whether the lack of paragoric ν in 5282 signifies that the papyrus had something other than ερχομενον κτλ. in 368; but the absence of paragoric ν alone does not necessarily rule out the possibility that the line began with a vowel, for in the papyri that Bolling cites there are a number of instances where a scribe fails to write paragoric ν before an initial vowel. Cf. P. Genav. inv. 90 (J. Nicole, *Rev. Phil.* 18 (1894) 104-11 no. 6; S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 107-17; F. Schironi, *To mega biblion* (2010) 88-9 no. 2), dated to the latter half of the third century BC, which does away with the practice of adding paragoric ν at the end of the line altogether.

368 ]υιοι: ὑπεκφύγοι MSS. It is tempting to read ]υγοι with the MSS, but even in light of the damage to the surface of the papyrus, ι appears to be the only letter that could have stood between γ and ο. It is possible that τ was severely botched, as it seems to have been in 352; but if we are correct in reading ]υιοι, the scribe could have simply miscopied the word, or 5282 may even contain another variant in this line that is altogether unattested elsewhere (see below).

ουδετε . . . το: οὐδ' ἀλέαιτο MSS, except οὐδ' ἀλέοιτο FU<sup>2</sup> v.l. in J and οὐδ' ἀλέοιτε MOZ. The two, or quite possibly three, uncertain letters elude identification. After ε there appears to be the end of the left leg of a letter, possibly followed by a hint of the end of either a right leg or a diagonal descending from left to right; the traces could potentially belong to a wide range of letters, such as λ (triangular with crossbar), λ, μ, ν, or perhaps χ. There is also a small, low-lying trace near τ. From what survives of 5282 and P. Köln 78, it cannot be determined whether the scribe opted to write in *scriptio plena* or to elide, which means the following divisions are possible: ουδε τε . . . το, ουδ ετε . . . το, ουδε τε . . . το (for τε used in conjunction with οὐδέ, cf. *Od.* 2.182, 12.198, and 23.270), ουδε τ ε . . . το, ουδ ετ ε . . . το (cf. *Od.* 12.197). Since the first of the traces is consistent with λ and there may in fact be three (as opposed to two) letters in need of restoration, the papyrus could have had ουδε τελοιτο, which would not make sense if the rest of the line was in accord with what we find in the mediaeval MSS.

369 μηστηρων οι δωμα κατ αντιθ]εου Οδυσ{c}ειος restored with most MSS: ἀνδρῶν, οἱ κατὰ δώματ' Ὀδυσσεύος θείοιο GH<sup>2</sup>. What survives of this line in 5282 helps confirm the spuriousness of the variant in G and H<sup>2</sup>, which was clearly drawn from 20.298 and 20.325 (as well as 17.402 and 18.417).

Οδυσ{c}ειος: Ὀδυσσεύος MSS except Ὀδυσσεύος F (corrected to Ὀδ- by a second hand). The ac-

cusative and genitive of nouns in *-ευε* are spelt indifferently *-ηα*, *-ηοε* and *-εια*, *-ειοε* in Ptolemaic papyri of Homer (S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 17); cf. 4.799 (*Οδυσει[ο]ε*) and 5.11 (*Οδυσειοε*) in P. Tebt. 697, and 21.4 (*Οδυσειοε*) and 432 (*Οδυσειοε*) in P. Lefort 1. Professor P. J. Parsons advises that the spelling *-ειοε* in 5282 is not a particularly weighty guide to dating, since a scribe in the early Roman period could simply have reproduced an exemplar belonging to the Ptolemaic period. *Οδυσειοε*, spelt with double sigma, is unmetrical here; the error is likely a simple lapse into the more familiar form of the name.

370 *μηχανασθε*. [*μηχανάσθε* MSS, except *-εθαι* UH and *μηχανόωνται* G. The last visible trace is a speck of ink roughly half-way up the line. The papyrus then breaks off, but it seems very likely that it had the expected reading, *μηχανασθε*: the last trace appears to be consistent with the crossbar of *ε*, and we would expect at least part of the base of any letter that followed to be visible.

The full line has not been preserved. Also worthy of note here are the somewhat visible traces below the horizontal line, as well as an ink-trace very close to the bottom edge of the fragment, which takes the form of a shallow curve that rises from left to right. Their significance, however, is obscure. One of these indeterminate traces seems to give the false impression that the long horizontal is forked at its beginning.

D. SQUIRE

#### 5283–5285. EURIPIDEAN HYPOTHESES

The plot summaries of Euripides' and, to a lesser extent, Sophocles' plays known as 'narrative hypotheses', following the nomenclature proposed by M. Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (1997) 1–2, constitute a well-documented subset of ancient tragic paraphernalia. Twenty-one papyri containing this typology of texts have been published so far, nineteen for Euripides and two for Sophocles (for an updated list see C. Meccariello, *Le ipotesi narrative dei drammi euripidei* (2014) 114–21). They range in date from the first to the third or fourth century AD; twelve of them certainly come from Oxyrhynchus. In almost every papyrus witness the hypotheses are found in continuous collections arranged alphabetically by play title, with each summary preceded by a tripartite heading including the quotation of the first line of the play.

Most of the previously published narrative hypotheses are stylistically homogeneous and can be safely ascribed to a single author (on the debated attribution to Dicaearchus, see Meccariello, *Le ipotesi narrative* 67–82, and most recently G. Verhasselt, *GRBS* 55 (2015) 608–36). The three new papyri edited in this volume, all dated to the second century on palaeographical grounds, contain the same typology of Euripidean hypotheses. The summaries in 5284 and 5285 clearly belong to the known collection: 5284 overlaps with LXVIII 4640 for the *Theseus* hypothesis, and 5285 stems from the same roll as XXVII 2455 + P. Strasb. G 2676, our largest source of Euripidean hypotheses. Moreover, the *Heracles* hypothesis in 5284 and the *Ion* hypothesis in 5285 are the same summaries preserved by the

mediaeval tradition. Textually close to the other witnesses, **5284** and **5285** show only few and minor synonymic variants, a type often found in narrative hypotheses; at least in one of these instances the papyrus seems to preserve the original reading (**5285** fr. 1 6 ἐξέθρεψ[εν, ἀνέθρεψε MSS).

On the contrary, the summaries in **5283**, while presenting the expected alphabetical arrangement and tripartite headings, show a rather simple and repetitive wording that seems different from the more refined style of the known collection. More notably, the *Bacchae* hypotheses in this papyrus does not overlap with the one preserved in **4017** and the mediaeval tradition. This suggests that **5283** contains the remains of an at least partially distinct collection of summaries. In documenting the parallel circulation of two different—however related—sets of narrative hypotheses in second century Oxyrhynchus, the papyrus enriches our knowledge and perception of the genre.

**5283** also adds two new fragments of Euripidean incipits and crucial information on the plots of the lost *Dictys* and *Danae*. Neither **5284** nor **5285** preserves new information on lost plays, but **5284** offers another possible point of interest: in the final lines of the *Electra* hypothesis (fr. 1 1–6), the lack of reference to the appearance of the Dioscuri *ex machina* is unusual and may perhaps revive Nauck's athetesis of the scene; but the reason for such an omission may lie in its irrelevance to the plot.

The papyrus summaries published up to 1997 are collected and briefly discussed in Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* An updated edition and running commentary of all the narrative hypotheses on papyrus, along with those preserved in the mediaeval manuscripts, are now offered in Meccariello, *Le hypothèses narratives*. The hypotheses of the extant Euripidean plays, edited on the grounds of the whole manuscript and papyrus tradition, can also be found in Diggle's edition of Euripides (*Euripidis fabulae*, i–iii (1981–94)) and in several editions of individual plays, while the hypotheses of lost plays are included in collections of tragic fragments (e.g. C. Collard, M. J. Cropp, K. H. Lee (eds.), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, i (1995); C. Collard, M. J. Cropp, J. Gibert (eds.), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, ii (2004); F. Jouan and H. Van Looy (eds.), *Euripide: Fragments* (Belles Lettres, viii.1–3, 1998–2002); *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, in particular R. Kannicht (ed.), v: *Euripides* (2004); C. Collard and M. J. Cropp (eds.), *Euripides VII: Fragments* and *Euripides VIII: Fragments* (Loeb Classical Library, 2008)).

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C. MECCARIELLO



5283. HYPOTHESES OF EURIPIDES' *BACCHAE*, *DICTYS*, *DANAË*, AND OTHER PLAYS

101/187a

fr. 1 15.5 × 22.8 cm

Second century

fr. 2 16.7 × 31.5 cm

Two large fragments (1 and 2) and four smaller pieces of a thick papyrus roll written along the fibres. 1 and 2, now detached, belonged to two consecutive *kollemata* and originally shared a *kollesis*. Part of it is visible in the upper portion of fr. 2, particularly at iii 15–18, about 1.8 to 2.2 cm from the left-hand edge. The two *kollemata* became detached in the lower part, where fr. 2 shows a straight edge and a blank space of 2–2.5 cm, the left-hand cut of the second *kollema*. A single piece of 29.3 × 31.5 cm may be reconstructed by connecting the two fragments.

**5283** contains the remains of six columns, four in fr. 1+2 and two in fr. 3. Fr. 1+2 col. iii is extant in its full height of 48 lines. Upper and lower margins of 2.6 and 2.3 cm respectively are visible in fr. 1+2. The extant intercolumnia range from c.1.5 to c.2 cm.

The handwriting is a fairly sized informal round script, mostly bilinear except for the long uprights of  $\iota$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\phi$ , and  $\psi$ . The letters are often very close to each other and touch;  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  form proper ligatures in most cases. Uprights sometimes end with short ornamental strokes (see for example  $\tau$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\kappa$ ). Cursive forms can be found occasionally:  $\kappa$ , in particular, occurs both in the capital form and in a cursive form written in two movements, with a curved base which sometimes takes a more pointed shape. A similar alternation of capital and cursive shape can be observed for  $\epsilon$ . Letters are sometimes stretched to reach line end, especially  $\epsilon$ ,  $\varsigma$ , and  $\gamma$ ; a space filler might have been used in fr. 1+2 ii 34. The whole appearance of the script varies throughout the papyrus: the general impression is that sometimes accuracy, sometimes speed of execution prevails.

This handwriting can be assigned to the mid to late second century. A comparable one is found in VI **853**, a commentary on Thucydides dated no earlier than the middle of the second century (Roberts, *GHL* no. 17a); as a documentary parallel one may adduce BGU V 1210 (R. Seider, *Pal. Gr. I* no. 37), containing the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, dated to 150–170.

The back of fr. 2 and 3 contains handwriting running the same way up as that on the front; it is informal and, though distinct, shows similarities with that on the other side. The back of fr. 2, in particular, bears more substantial remains of two columns; only their upper portion is written, for a total of 9 lines in the first column and 5 in the second, and the text of both, apparently a narrative on Heracles' labours, has been crossed out.

Diacritics are employed fairly often in **5283**, including acute and circumflex accent, rough breathing, diaeresis on  $\iota$ . *Scriptio plena* and elision are both used; the latter is marked by an apostrophe only in fr. 1+2 iv 16  $\delta^{\ast}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\chi\rho\{\}$ , probably added

secondarily in order to avoid the possible articulation δε κεχρ[. The scribe does not normally write adscript ι, but one seems to have been added later by the same hand in fr. 1+2 iv 17.

High stop is frequently used to mark major and minor syntactic pauses. At least in certain cases, it seems to have been added secondarily, since no space for it is left between the letters. This suggests the possibility that all punctuation marks and diacritics were added after the completion of the text, although there is no clear indication of a different hand or ink (except in fr. 1+2 iii 6; see note *ad loc.*). A forked paragraphus marks the end of a hypothesis at the bottom of fr. 1+2 iii.

The text shows a few cases of iotacism (βασιλιαν fr. 1+2 iii 45, τροφιων iii 46-7; in iv 6 the spelling ευπρεπια has been corrected to ευπρεπεια, seemingly by the same hand); the final nasal of prepositions in compounds shows no assimilation (fr. 1+2 iv 21; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 108), but in iii 34 an initial κυγγωναι seems to have been corrected to κυγγωναι. Several supralinear corrections have been added apparently by the same hand, sometimes in conjunction with deletion of the letters below by oblique strokes (e.g. fr. 1+2 ii 45 αμυνετο corrected to αμυνατο). When letters are cancelled but no supralinear corrections are added, oblique strokes and dots above the letters are used (as in fr. 1+2 iii 15). In fr. 1+2 iv 10 the initial c, belonging to the consonant cluster cμ of the word χρη||cμoc, protrudes into the left-hand margin, suggesting that an original word division after c has been corrected (see fr. 1+2 iv 9-10 n.). This seems to be paralleled in fr. 1+2 iii 15-16 περιγεν[[ηc]]ε[[c]]|-[cθ]αι, where a deletion dot appears above the c at line end.

**5283** preserves summaries of Euripides' *Bacchae*, *Dictys*, *Danae*, *Helen*, and perhaps *Heracles*, arranged alphabetically by play title as most tragic hypotheses on papyrus. Fr. 1+2 also contain remains of the tripartite heading usually prefixed to papyrus hypotheses, which includes the play title, the relative clause οὐ/ἡc/ὦν ἀρχή, followed by the quotation of the first line of the play, and the formula ἡ δ(ε) ὑπόθεσις marking the beginning of the summary. As in most papyri, the heading spans several lines and its first and last items are in *eisthesis*. The heading on top of fr. 1+2 iv does not include the first item (title and relative clause), but a supralinear note seems to have been added in the upper margin to mark the need for correction (see fr. 1+2 iv 1 n.).

None of the textual sequences of **5283** overlaps with known hypotheses.

1) The *Bacchae* is the only play represented in this papyrus for which we have a complete summary safely assignable to the known collection, preserved entirely in the mediaeval manuscript P (Pal. gr. 287 + Laur. conv. soppr. 172, fourteenth century) and partially in LX **4017**. This summary is different from the one in **5283** not only in the part transmitted by P alone (which covers the events summarised in fr. 1+2 ii 20-45), but also in the section preserved by **4017** as well (which covers the portion of the plot recounted in fr. 1+2 ii 12-20).

2) Lack of precise overlap can also be observed in the case of the *Dictys* hypothesis. PSI XII 1286 fr. B, persuasively identified as part of a *Dictys* hypothesis

(see I. Karamanou, *Euripides: Danae and Dictys; Introduction, Text and Commentary* (2006) 163–6), contains a reference to a *ἱερόν*, probably of Poseidon (2 Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν), and the genitive Δίκτυος (3). Both elements appear in consecutive lines in **5283** (fr. 1+2 iii 10 and 11–12), but here the name Dictys comes first; moreover, the other scanty traces of PSI XII 1286 fr. B bear no indication of similar wording or overlap with **5283**.

3) A further discrepancy can be observed in the case of *Helen*. Again, a hypothesis is prefixed to the play in P, a hybrid introduction consisting of a late Byzantine mythological discussion and a brief account of the plot. It is possible but unprovable that the latter is an abridged version of a narrative hypothesis in the style of the known alphabetical collection (see most recently Meccariello, *Le hypotheseis narrative* 187–91); in any case, the small portion preserved in **5283** does not show any similarity with the known summary.

4) An account of the Danae myth is preserved in P under the title *ὑπόθεσις Δανάης*, but it does not show the typical features of the collection. The summary is prefixed to a list of characters and the beginning of a play on Danae (*TrGF* v.2 F 1132). The latter has been easily recognised as non-Euripidean on linguistic and metrical grounds (M. L. West, *BICS* 28 (1981) 75 dates it to the fifth/sixth century), but the evaluation of the hypothesis has been controversial. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 1–7 and *ZPE* 95 (1993) 65–9, has argued that it derives, by abridgment, from an ancient hypothesis belonging to the known collection, and that it actually summarises the Euripidean play. However, strong verbal similarities between this summary and Luc. *Dial. marin.* 12 rather suggest that the compiler of the hypothesis based his work on that text (R. Kannicht, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 33–4), and more recently M. Magnani, *Eikasmōs* 21 (2010) 49–88, has made a case for the attribution of both hypothesis and dramatic text to Johannes Catrarius (fourteenth century), who penned them in P. The *Danae* hypothesis of **5283** does not show any textual contact with the account preserved in P and, more importantly, gives details and major events of the Euripidean play that are different or absent in the mediaeval summary (see commentary *passim*). Some of these are so crucial to the plot that their omission in the mediaeval hypothesis cannot be reasonably explained by a simple abridgment, and the comparison of the two texts seems to confirm that the hypothesis of P just retells a general, vulgate version of the Danae myth, rather than summarizing the Euripidean play.

Besides presenting no overlaps with known hypotheses, the summaries preserved in **5283** show an overall different style from those published so far, which on their part are fairly homogeneous. Noticeably, the hypotheses of **5283** do not share typical features of the other narrative hypotheses such as the tendency to avoid hiatus, asyndeton, and repetition, the use of *ἐπιφανεῖς* to mark the arrival of a character, the numerous balanced *μέν . . . δέ* clauses (on the style of the Euripidean hypotheses, see Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 7–12, and Meccariello, *Le hypotheseis narrative* 47–57).

This suggests that the new papyrus—unlike **5284** and **5285**—stems from a different set of hypotheses of the same type, or at least results from a substantial reworking of the known set. It seems more economical to assume that a second collection of hypotheses was modelled on a pre-existing one, either by abridgement or reworking, than that the entire known production of Euripides was summarized more than once. However, the papyrus offers no clear indication of a relationship between the two extant *Bacchae* hypotheses, the only verifiable case. On the other hand, it might be meaningful that some of the metrical clausulae identified in previously known Euripidean hypotheses by J. Diggle ('Rhythmical prose in the Euripidean hypotheses', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *Euripide e i papiri: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Firenze, 10–11 giugno 2004* (2005) 27–67), are paralleled in **5283**: see most notably the density of clausulae ending in – ∪ – (Diggle's group 3, 'Rhythmical prose' 35–6) in the best preserved part of the *Danae* hypothesis (fr. 1+2 iv 11–22; cf. also the very ending of the *Bacchae* hypothesis in ii 45, as well as, in the *Dictys* hypothesis, iii 7–8 and 44–5). Besides, the final words of the *Dictys* hypothesis (iii 48 ᾠχετ[(ο) εἰς Ἀρ]γος) may be interpreted as a cretic + spondee clausula; cf. Diggle, 'Rhythmical prose' 29.

A possible example of abridgement of a narrative hypothesis is the summary of Euripides' *Alcestis* preserved in the mediaeval manuscripts of the play, which shows substantial textual contacts with the more detailed but very fragmentary summary of XXVII **2457** (W. Luppe, *Philologus* 126 (1982) 10–15). The possibility of a reworking of an original narrative hypothesis has also been considered in the case of III **420**, containing a hypothesis of Euripides' *Electra* whose style appears much more rhetorically elaborated than that of the other Euripidean hypotheses (Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 15 n. 6; Meccariello, *Le ipotesi narrative* 192–4).

**5283** shows that two (partially?) different but not necessarily independent sets of Euripidean hypotheses circulated in second century Oxyrhynchus. The much larger attestation of the other set, its solid presence in the mediaeval manuscripts of Euripides, and the fewer stylistic pretences of the new papyrus suggest that **5283** was a secondary text, perhaps produced for the needs of a local school or reading circle. A cultivated circle in Egypt may have compiled this collection, which would explain the abundance of diacritics and corrections, as well as the general accuracy of the copy, while accounting for the simplicity of the style. XVIII **2192**, containing a private letter dated around AD 170, illustrates an interest in paraliterary works on drama among the local elite, including otherwise unknown 'epitomes in prose of tragic myths by Thersagoras', and may offer a suitable context.

Besides enriching our knowledge of the Euripidean narrative hypotheses as a genre, **5283** provides valuable information on the plots of *Danae* and *Dictys*, and adds two new fragments of Euripides, namely the end of the first line of *Dictys*

(which rules out the initial position of *TrGF* v.1 F 330b, if its ascription to Euripides' *Dictys* is correct) and very scanty traces of the *Danae* incipit.

The papyrus, badly damaged and covered with stains, has been cleaned and restored by M. Capasso and N. Pellè from the Centro di Studi Papirologici, University of Lecce, Italy, in June 2012 (see Pellè, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 20/21 (2011/12), 153–64 at 159–60). Images taken before and after the process, including a set of multispectral images, have been used in conjunction with autopsy for the decipherment of particularly damaged parts.

In what follows, Euripides' extant and fragmentary plays are quoted according to the editions of J. Diggle, *Euripidis Fabulae*, i–iii (1981–94) and R. Kannicht, *TrGF* v (2004) respectively:

Fr. 1+2

col. i

col. ii

(11 lines missing)

20

]. . . . [ . . . ]  
 ]δησε. [ . . . ]  
 ]νο. [ . . . ]υτονδια  
 ]γενη. [ . . . ]  
 ]. ογον[ . . . ]  
 ]. . . . αδε  
 25 ] . . . αυ  
 ]αατο  
 ]. . . .  
 ]. [ . . . ] ' του  
 ]. ω .

15

20

25

30

. . . . .  
 . . . . . ]ον  
 . . . . . ] . . .  
 . . . . . ] . ν . . .  
 ]. γει. προ[ . . . . ]κα  
 ]γουνκαιτε. [ . . . ] . . . ς  
 ]είπαρήνουμ. ε. ς  
 ]υβριζει. καιαπο  
 θεωσαντεςσεμεληνηχορευ  
 20 οντωδιο[ . . . ]υρωαφικ μενω  
 δετωνυπασπιστων' οδ' ονυ  
 σοσεκων αυ . ν . . . ω' εν ο . . .  
 δεσμοις καιε . . . . .  
 θωντεειςταβας . . . . .  
 25 θεωσ' ταυταμεν . . . . .  
 ριψεν' λυθεισδ . . . . .  
 παρεστητωπενθει . . . . .  
 ναγκασεναυτογυναικει  
 αναλαβονταστοληνπα  
 30 ραγενεσθαιειστονκιθαιρω  
 νακαιθεασασθ . . . . . χορειας  
 . . . . . αφ . . . . . μεν . . . . . θεασα  
 [ . . . ] . . . . . αι . . . . . αι μελιστι . . .  
 . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . ν . . . . . εναιδ' ει . . . ον .

35 ..... ατοῦσατ νκε  
 ].....  
 [  
 [  
 [  
 40 [  
 [  
 ]...[  
 ]ερσινεχειτην.[.].[.]η[  
 ]..... ουτως εν  
 ]... οστουσεισαυτον  
 45 ]ασημυ[[ε]]ατο  
 ].χη  
 ] αιθεροσπαλαι  
 ]οθεσ·τερ·ε

col. iii

col. iv

].πω[.....]ντε  
 ].ναη.α.....  
 ]ναιρησωνμεδουσαν  
 ]ργονα·π[.].[.]...[.]  
 5 ]...ρασβασιλευσ·αλου·[  
 ]...σδανάησ·καταρχα  
 ]οσεφερεναυτηλο.....  
 ]ξεωσ·ωσδεαπετυ  
 ]...ζεσθαιδιεγνω·κα  
 10 ]μετατουδικτυοσκατε  
 ]...ιστοτουποσιδων·ε  
 [.][.....][.]δεευλαβουμεν·ε  
 τ·οπ[...].οσ·μηβίασπαγων  
 τ·νδαναηναναιρεθη·απα  
 15 ]...βουληθηπεριγεν[[ησ]]ε[[ς]]  
 ]αιαυτης·καιελεγενπερσε  
 ]...τελευτηκηναιοιομεν·σα  
 ]...οχνοῦσαναυτηνητη[[ς]]ν·τ  
 ]...δοςβοήθεια[[ς]]ν·κυνοικ·  
 20 ]...ω·σδεηδανάη  
 ]...[.]...ρεν·παρα·ε  
 ].....

ειθ...ακ...[  
 ηδευ·[  
 α...ο...[.....]δ[  
 ]δα...[.....].[  
 5 ονομασθεις...[  
 ]τηνευπρεπέιαδια[  
 ]τωνκαθεαυτηνηγυ[  
 ]ζευσθεασαμενοσ[  
 ]τιαυτης·τωδεακρ[  
 10 ]μοσεδεδοτοτην[  
 ]παρθενονμενειν·τ[  
 ]ξα·τηςγενομεν·[  
 ]εσεσθαιτ·υμητρ[  
 ]ουτοσχαλκεονκ[  
 15 ]ασοικονεντουτω[  
 ]σεν[.].στωδ'εκεχρ[  
 ]τη·ιτωεισφεροντια[  
 ]τροφην·οουνζευ[  
 ]εικασθεις·διατ[...].ροφ[  
 20 ]ειστονκολ[[.]]·π'ονα...σε...[  
 ]καιενκυμοναα·[  
 ]σκευασεν·μαθο[

	]. τευπερ[.]...	τηρητη.....[
	]. ... ρεπιστ. λας	μωνε.....[
25	]νω... δ... θονταδε	25 εσκηψατο αια [
	]... δεξηταιτα	νικαδεα εκυης [
	..]...[.....]... νεδηο	διονηδαναη ανει [
	..]...[.....]... δεεπελ	ιδιονημητηρ καιλ[
	]. [.]... ε[.....]... αταβιασα	τωακρισι ηκ....[
30	... [.]... νδαναηνητουτοις	30 ναι γεγεννησθαιχ [
	]... [.....]... οπερσευσαπηλ	υιογνησιον ετιδεηξι[
	.. ξ... ντηνδαναηνητης	τηνδαναηνηφρουρα.....[
	υβρεω[.] ολυδεκτου δεϊκετευ	λυειν αυτηφυλα... [
	οντ[.]... τονκυ[[ν]]' γ. ωναι	μενη πεισθεις[
35	τοικκατερωταπραχθεισι	35 οςωσεινο[[ε]]ικ [
	.....[.....]... ραιαυτωτηνημη	ραιν υσης ε ελ[
	.....]... ρα ενεσθαιαυτον	γειντην.....[
	εφ[.....]... νμετατωνφιλτα	εκκομιζωντα[
40	των[.....]... ασασθαιτοναθλον	40 ποκυη εωσκ [
	ονεπ[.....]... λεκεν παραγενο	επεδειξεν οδεα [
	μενω... τωνεπιδειξας	λευσενα... ωειςτ[
	.η[.....]... οργονοςπροτομην	.].....]... ιεναι καιητις
	μετε [.....]... ωσεναυτουσειλι	.].[
45	θου [.....]... νβασιλιαν παρα	
	δους[.....]... χαριστηριοντρο	
	φίων[.....]... βωντηνδανάνην	
	ωχε [.....]... γος	

col. i

19 ]... [, angular junction of descending and ascending obliques or base of squarish loop; foot of ascending oblique connected to horizontal on the right; lower part of long descender (altogether these traces may suggest και) 20 ], upper part of slightly curved upright and speck at mid height 21 ο [, lower part of round letter, probably c 22 . [, upright; speck high on the line, dot above the line and remains of curved stroke descending from left to right 23 ]... speck end of horizontal high on the line touching the following ο, suggesting ρ or τ 24 ]... speck high on the line; top of round letter; speck above the line and top of oblique descending from left to right; horizontal with trace of top of upright suggesting τ 25 ]... remains of curved stroke at baseline; bottom of curved upright; lower part of ascending oblique 27 ]... end of oblique or sloping upright; part of ascending oblique or sloping upright connected to remains of mid-height horizontal; three spots, perhaps belonging to curved stroke; curved stroke ending with long stretched horizontal, plausibly c 28 ]. [ ]', lower part of round letter; thick oblique stroke protruding below the line and seemingly deleting letter with upper horizontal; supralinear upright 29 ]... end of horizontal and top of upright forming a right angle (τ?) ω, remains of round letter

col. ii

13 ] . . . , curved stroke at mid height with specks on top; slightly curved upright; long horizontal at mid height  
 14 ] . , speck high on the line and right-hand part of circle below; speck below the line  
 ν . . , remains of two crossing obliques as of x; upright in upper part of writing space connected to long horizontal at mid height  
 15 ] . γ ε . . , end of horizontal; short vertical stroke at baseline  
 16 ε . . , upright; foot of upright ] . . c , foot of upright; spots  
 17 μ . ε . , lower part of upright; dot at mid height as of ι in ligature with preceding ε  
 18 ι . , left-hand upright  
 20 κ . , spots  
 ω . , spots  
 21 δ . , low dot as of foot of upright slightly protruding below the line  
 22 ν . , round letter, c or ε  
 α υ . . , spots  
 ν . . . . , confused specks in dirty area belonging to two or three letters  
 ; two parallel uprights connected by slightly descending stroke, compatible with squarish cursive κ or η  
 ν . φ . . , high horizontal; speck high on the line; junction of top of upright and horizontal in upper part of writing space, and spots below  
 23 ε . , remains of upright with thick foot and lower junction of descending oblique and upright suggesting η; afterwards just scattered traces in very dirty area  
 24 c . . . , thick upright or oblique stroke; remains of upright and descending oblique; round letter?; afterwards just scattered traces in very dirty area  
 25 scattered traces of ink  
 26 δ . . . . , round letter; curved stroke and descending oblique (ε?); junction of curved stroke and horizontal, as of left-hand part of π; speck low on the line  
 27 . . . . , remains of upright?; upper part of descending oblique?, then scattered traces of ink  
 31 θ . . . . , spots; foot of upright; upright; curved stroke; junction of left-hand upright and upper horizontal connected to following letter, suggesting c  
 32 . . . . . , remains of upright; right-hand part of round letter; upright connected to right-hand upper oblique, suggesting γ; speck high on the line and two further specks below; round letter; spot low on the line followed by horizontal at mid height connected to upright  
 φ . . . , long upright below the line crossed by ascending oblique stroke touching shorter upright at line level; arc as of cursive κ; speck high on the line  
 33 ] . . , remains of ascending oblique high on the line and horizontal at mid height, perhaps ε; remains of upright  
 ; . . . . . , speck at mid height and top of descending oblique, suggesting λ; top and foot of upright strongly suggesting ι; upper circle as of ρ or β; remains of circle; speck; junction of ascending and descending obliques; two crossing obliques, probably x  
 ι . . , specks in dirty area  
 34 . . [ , traces of lower part of the line on detached piece of papyrus: first, curved stroke slightly protruding below the line; second, lower part of circle followed by specks at baseline (ω or round letter followed by traces of another letter?)  
 . . . . . ν , specks; remains of round letter; pointed speck high on the line and two vertically aligned dots on detached piece of papyrus, altogether suggesting upright; top and base of round letter (c or ε) on two separate pieces of papyrus; junction of upright and horizontal as of r, with remains of the upright preserved on detached piece; upright above and, on detached piece, curved base and mid-height horizontal touching the following letter, altogether suggesting ε  
 . . ε , spots; remains of right-hand stroke touching the following letter  
 δ . . , bottom of upright  
 ε ι . . , two crossing obliques  
 ν . , two convergent oblique strokes followed by horizontal starting from their vertex, seemingly a forked paragraphos but more plausibly an elongated space filler or the remains of one or two letters  
 35 . . . . . α , scanty remains of upper part of the line; last three traces before α: two dots high on the line as of tops of two consecutive uprights; junction of top of upright and short descending stroke; loop high on the line as of ρ  
 τ . , junction of upright and mid-height horizontal  
 36 ] . . . . . , remains of top of the line: ascending oblique connected to descending stroke at mid height, suggesting ε; thick and short horizontal suggesting top of small loop; speck and beginning of descending stroke suggesting junction of upright and descending oblique; top of upright; horizontal; long horizontal belonging to more than one letter forming right angle with upright in the middle; loop as of ρ; round letter, probably ο  
 41 ] . . [ , bottom of round letter? foot of upright  
 42 ν . [ , speck at baseline ] . [ , remains of long upright  
 43 ] . . . . . , first, spots in upper part of the line; second, junction of short ascending and descending obliques at baseline; third, two dots, one on top and one at baseline, suggesting upright; fourth, short horizontal



at baseline; fifth, upper curve, dot at baseline and short slightly curved horizontal in right-hand part of writing space ( $\epsilon$ ?); sixth, round letter and remains of oblique stroke protruding below line level, compatible with a deletion stroke; seventh, upright in space above the line; eighth, remains of round letter; ninth, short ascending oblique in left-hand part of writing space and curved descender in right-hand part, both at baseline  $\zeta$ , spots suggesting curved upright 44 ], remains of horizontal low on the line; single letter with upper horizontal and curved base, probably  $c$  46 ], foot of upright 47 ], upper circle as of  $p$  48  $\rho$ , tiny curved stroke at baseline; top of ascending oblique as of  $\gamma$

col. iii

1 ]  $\pi$ , speck at baseline, remains of horizontal at mid height connected to long upright protruding below the line, perhaps  $\lambda$   $\omega$ , speck at mid height 2 ]  $\nu$ , end of horizontal touching the following  $\eta$ , tiny trace, perhaps of upright, belonging to the right part of a letter  $\alpha$  . . . . ., horizontal and curved vertical stroke as of  $\tau$ ; horizontal high on the line with spots below and two specks in oblique alignment (left to right) above line level; round letter followed by spots as of descending curve; specks;  $c$  or, more plausibly, lower half of  $\epsilon$ ; bottom of ascending oblique; narrow base of round letter or curved bottom of upright or descender; specks at baseline 3 descending oblique with separate horizontal below in right-hand intercolumnium 4  $\pi$ , curved stroke ascending from left to right and protruding above the line, connected to slightly descending oblique, strongly suggesting  $\epsilon$  ] . . . . ., tiny remains of upper part of the line: first, very short stroke ascending from left to right; second and third, two single spots high on the line; fourth, spots high on the line; fifth, top of upright; sixth, spot followed by junction of small vertical stroke and stretched horizontal 5 ]  $\rho$ , right-hand part of round letter [, horizontal low on the line 6 ]  $c$ , upright; curved stroke  $\acute{\alpha}\eta$ , above  $\eta$ , oblique bar descending from left to right, crossing right end of previous acute accent  $\alpha$ , stretched horizontal (elongated right-hand part of preceding  $\lambda$  or of another letter?) 7  $\sigma$  . . . . ., upright and horizontal forming a right angle, as in  $\tau$ ; top of two consecutive curved strokes; descending oblique; junction of short slightly curved stroke and stretched horizontal, suggesting  $c$  9 ], short horizontal at mid height  $\alpha$ , foot of upright connected to right end of preceding  $\lambda$ , followed by mid-height horizontal joining remains of upright 11 [, speck high on the line and end of horizontal below touching top of following letter  $c$ , small slightly oblique stroke in right-hand part of writing space 12 [, speck at baseline ], thick and short horizontal above line  $c$ , speck at mid height in left-hand part of writing space 13 ], short slightly ascending horizontal at mid height touching following letter 14  $\tau$ , curved stroke as of  $c$  or right-hand part of  $\eta$  15 . . . . ., first, horizontal high on the line; second, spots in very dirty area; third, curve at baseline 16 , speck very low on the line belonging to right-hand part of a letter 17 ], high ascending oblique connected to mid-height horizontal, probably  $\epsilon$   $\nu$ , short horizontal high on the line and speck at baseline 18  $\sigma$ , remains of upright . . . . . base of round letter; junction of short upright and long ascending oblique high on the line 19 . . . . .  $\delta$ , specks  $\kappa$ , upright 20 ] . . . . .  $\omega$ , speck at mid height; oblique stroke ascending from left to right; specks; foot of upright  $c$ , base of round letter in right-hand part of writing space 21 . . . . ., two sloping uprights or obliques? ] . . . . ., scattered traces of ink; last two, speck as of upright; upper horizontal  $\alpha$ , upright 22 ] . . . . ., scattered traces of top and base of the line; third, junction of horizontal and upright; fifth, curved stroke high on the line; sixth, speck very high on the line with spots in oblique alignment below, followed by long stretched horizontal ( $\lambda$  possible) 23 ]  $\tau$ , short horizontal high on the line . . . . ., upper curve ascending from left to right connected to slightly ascending oblique below, suggesting  $\epsilon$ ; short descending oblique connected to previous letter; short descender in upper part of writing space 24 ] . . . . .  $c$ , specks; remains of upper horizontal and spots below; end of horizontal touching following letter  $\tau$ , remains of round letter 25 . . . . .  $\delta$  . . . . ., top of round letter; junction of upright and descending oblique in upper part of the

line; spots; two short parallel horizontals at mid height and baseline respectively; remains of curved stroke in left-hand part of writing space; small curved stroke below line level 26  $\delta$ , third, upright  $\alpha$  [, left-hand part of round letter 27 ] . [, upper horizontal followed by upright; junction of left-hand sloping upright, middle curve, and right-hand upright ] . . . . . , scattered spots of ink in dirty area; first, short ascending and short descending obliques joining in upper part of writing space; second, ascending oblique; third, arc and speck at baseline 28 ] . . . . , upright; horizontal high on the line; then specks ] . . . . . , first and second, scattered spots of ink; third, top of upright; fourth, horizontal in upper part of writing space; fifth, spots; sixth, foot of upright and short horizontal above in right-hand part of writing space; seventh, arc as of c 29 ] . [ ] . , spots ] . . . . . upper junction of horizontal and curved upright; small descender in lower part of writing space; upper junction of left-hand upright, horizontal, and right-hand upright suggesting square letter; upper junction of sloping upright or ascending oblique and descending curved stroke; top of upright and remains of curved stroke at baseline 30 . . . . [, two spots in descending oblique alignment in left-hand part of writing space, followed by lower curved stroke; base of round letter and ascending oblique high on the line; lower junction of descending oblique and upright; specks as of round letter ] . . , two specks at baseline; foot of upright 31 ] . [ . bottom of upright ] . . o , junction of horizontal and upright ( $\tau$ ?); round letter 32  $\xi$ , upright and descending oblique joining at top; specks  $\nu$ , speck at baseline; curve at baseline; speck at mid height 33 ] . , foot of upright 34 ] . . . , end of horizontal at mid height; ascending arc and descending oblique; upright  $\gamma$ , foot of upright and end of high horizontal  $\gamma$ , upright in left-hand part of writing space, stain in right-hand part 36 . . . . [, traces of upper part of the line: first, top of upright followed by top of curved stroke; second, short horizontal and top of descending oblique protruding above the line, perhaps  $\lambda$ ; third, speck high on the line; fourth, high horizontal or top of round letter; then three specks ] . . c , junction of curved stroke and long upright probably belonging to two letters 38 [ , remains of upper curve and thick speck below  $\rho\alpha$ , specks in oblique alignment and end of mid-height horizontal touching following letter; lower half of sloping upright 39 [ small arc high on the line, perhaps of e 41  $\lambda$ , end of mid-height horizontal touching following letter 42 . . . , foot of upright; specks at baseline; descending oblique at baseline 43  $\eta$  [ , dot high on the line; upright 44 [ , upright at edge 45 [ , slightly ascending stroke in upper part of writing space and short descending oblique below  $\nu$ , specks; junction of horizontal and upright with curved base 46 ]  $\chi$ , specks high on the line 48 [ , dot at baseline

col. iv

1 traces of ink in margin above third and fourth letters of the line: right part of triangular letter, plausibly  $\lambda$ , and bottom of upright below  $\theta$ , speck above right-hand part of  $\theta$ , perhaps an apostrophe; short upright above line, specks at baseline followed by foot of upright; remains of upright?  $\kappa$ , small circle at mid height and slightly oblique stroke touching following letter, altogether suggesting  $\lambda$ ; upright and small circle low on the line, followed by short descending curve and short ascendant at line top and base respectively, both in right-hand part of writing space ( $\theta$ ?) 2 [ , two consecutive uprights connected by upper horizontal, perhaps  $\pi$ ; both this letter and  $\delta$  in the following line seem to be on a slightly lower level than the corresponding lines 3  $\alpha$  . . . . , foot of upright; foot of upright followed by high dot in right-hand part of writing space; small descending oblique and tiny horizontal high on the line; remains of upright  $\sigma$ , bottom of round letter, e or c; remains of upright 4  $\alpha$  [ , upright; speck high on the line and short horizontal at mid height [ , upright 5 . . [ , bottom of circle and dot high on the line; foot of upright 12  $\alpha$ , upright with spots on top [ , very short slightly sloping vertical stroke in upper part of writing space 13  $\tau$ , left-hand curved stroke 16  $\epsilon$ , speck high on the line and short descending oblique below 20 [ ] , illegible letter deleted by oblique stroke and thick speck of ink  $\alpha$  . . . , first and second, speck and horizontal in upper part of writing space; third, bottom of upright . . [ ,

upright and upper curve; short ascending oblique high on the line 21 a, curved stroke at edge 23 . . . . . [ , scattered traces of ink in area of detached fibres; fourth, traces of long ascending oblique 24 . . . . . [ , first, horizontal in upper part of writing space; second, foot of upright; third, spot high on the line; fourth, spots high on the line in descending oblique alignment; fifth, short horizontal; sixth, round letter, c or e; seventh, upper junction of ascending and short descending obliques with horizontal in the middle slightly above mid height; eighth, two specks high on the line 25 a, lower halves of ascending oblique and descending curved stroke joining at mid height, as of κ, λ, or x a [ , foot of sloping upright or ascending oblique 26 a, junction of upright and upper horizontal, whose end, preserved after small break in the papyrus, touches following letter e, end of horizontal high on the line and short descending oblique at baseline 27 ε, spot at baseline 29 ε, left-hand part of round letter; lower curved stroke linking to following letter . . . . . [ , two specks in left-hand part of writing space; specks in vertical alignment followed by remains of horizontal high on the line; upper part of slightly curved vertical stroke; left-hand part of circle and short descending oblique above 30 γ, small circle followed by short descending oblique 32 . . . . . [ , top of round letter; speck at baseline in left-hand part of writing space and top of descending oblique above; high horizontal; top of round letter 33 . . . [ , speck at baseline; junction of ascending and descending obliques in upper part of writing space; thick spot high on the line 35 . [ , left-hand curve and short ascending oblique above suggesting accent 36 ν, short horizontal high on the line and lower part of circle below ε, ascending oblique and speck in upper part of writing space, bottom of descending oblique at baseline 37 ν . . . . . [ , junction of left-hand upright and upper horizontal; short horizontal speck at mid height, speck very high on the line and remains of upright below; foot of upright; lower part of ascending oblique connected to horizontal at baseline, probably Δ; two parallel descending obliques in lower half of writing space and top of upright high on the line; short upright at mid height 39 [ , speck at mid height 40 η, bottom of round letter κ [ , small circle, probably of λ 41 [ , slightly curved upright 42 a . . . , foot of upright; junction of upright and right-hand upper horizontal 43 ] . . . . . [ , remains of top of the line: first, oblique stroke descending from left to right; second, dot; third, dot high on the line; fourth, junction of left-hand upright, horizontal and right-hand upright suggesting c1 or squarish top of β; fifth, top of upright in right part of writing space; sixth, spot followed by top of upright; seventh, narrow upper curve, plausibly of ε; eighth, top of upright connected to horizontal and touching following letter, suggesting c. Detached fibres bear scant remains of lower part of the line; more substantial traces roughly under third and fifth, describable as left-hand arc connected to descending oblique (loop of λ?) and upright connected to descending oblique (N?) respectively 44 ] . . . , top of round letter

Fr. 3

col. i

col. ii

. . . . .  
 ] . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 ] . αν·π . . [ . . . . .  
 ] . α . τή· κ . . . [ . . . . .  
 ] . . . . . εντ . [ . . . . .  
 5 ] . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 ] . . το [ . ] . . ν . λάος [ . . . . .  
 ] ενο [ . ] τουιλίου·κ [ . . . . .  
 ] ν·υ·πο·αν·τι·πν [ . ] ε [ . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ηρακλ [ . . . . .  
 5 βω [ . . . . .  
 παρεχ [ . . . . .  
 ταιθα [ . . . . .  
 μου·ε [ . . . . .

10 ]...ιφε.ς.ιαιγυ  
]ακτηνεως  
].....[  
]ρα[

10 κτου.[  
γειντο[  
..νομ.υ[  
.

Fr. 4

Fr. 5

Fr. 6

].[.].[  
].λεπή[  
]ντας.[  
].οι.[

.ανευ.[  
].ευεε[  
].χ.[

]...[  
]ω..[

Fr. 3 col. i

1 ]...[, lower horizontal and speck at mid height; top of upright; junction of ascending and descending obliques, with the descender touching following letter; upright 2 ], end of oblique descender 3 ], left part of small circle, plausibly belonging to loop of λ; short and thick vertical speck at baseline 4 ], lower part of upright α, specks κ...[, small pointed arc in lower part of writing space, and speck below the line; speck in upper part of writing space, below: arc as of right-hand part of round letter touching following low horizontal; junction of high horizontal and descending curved oblique, and speck at line level in left-hand part of writing space 5 ].....ε, scattered traces of ink in very damaged area; last trace, upper junction of ascending and descending oblique as in left-hand part of λ 6 ], remains of thick upright 7 ], lower right-hand part of circle; foot of upright 8 ], top of arc joining upper horizontal touching following trace; ascending oblique protruding above the line and base of circle below; remains of circle followed by traces of curved stroke (λ?); spots 9 ], τ, ascending oblique touching following trace; narrow arc as of ε with thick upper end and short mid horizontal 10 ], ν, junction of short ascending oblique and descender high on the line; base of round letter; after ν short upright at baseline connected to mid horizontal 11 ], spots in upper part of writing space; spots suggesting remains of upright and descending oblique; upright protruding slightly below the line ending with small curve φε, two specks above these letters 12 ], c, foot of upright; spots suggesting upper part of left-hand arc followed by end of curved stroke connected to top of following letter 13 ], scattered traces of ink in very damaged area; one acute accent clearly discernible in space above line

col. ii

5 ], spots 6 ], γ, top of ascending stroke high on the line 7 ], lower bulge as of β 8 ], scattered traces of ink 9 ], μ, speck

Fr. 4

1 ], bottom of long upright; foot of upright touching following letter at mid height (λ?) 2 ], end of descending oblique 3 ], τ or ρ 4 ], junction of horizontal and upright suggesting τ, or ρ or c preceded by end of horizontal 5 ], remains of upper junction as of N

Fr. 5

1 ], upper curve 2 ], foot of upright? 3 ], junction of short ascendant and curved stroke connected to following letter 4 ], χ, spots of ink; top of upright?

## Fr. 6

1 ]...[, dot at mid height; upright with curved foot and upper horizontal, suggesting ρ or τ; upright with horizontal at mid height strongly suggesting η      2 ]ω...[, short horizontal in upper part of writing space and short ascending oblique in lower part; junction of sloping upright and upper horizontal, followed by thick speck of ink at edge

## Fr. 1+2

col. i

]...[  
 ]δησε.[  
 20 ]γο.[.]υτον δια  
 ]ρενη...[  
 ]...ογον[  
 ]...αδε  
 25 ]...αυ  
 ]αατο  
 ]...  
 ]...του  
 ]...ω

col. ii

(11 lines missing)

]ον  
 ]...  
 ]...ν...  
 15 ]...γει προ[....] Κά-  
 δμος μέ]ν οὖν καὶ Τειρ[ε]σίας  
 τῷ Πενθ]εῖ παρήνουν μὴ εἰς  
 c.7 ]υβρίζειν· καὶ ἀπο-  
 θεώσαντες Σεμέλην ἐχόρευ-  
 20 ον τῷ Διο[ν]ύσῳ· ἀφικομένων  
 δὲ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὁ Διόνυ-  
 σος ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκεν τοῖς  
 δεσμοῖς· καὶ ε...  
 θωντε εἰς τὰ βασίλεια...  
 25 θεως, ταῦτα μὲν ..... ἐρ-  
 ρισεν· λυθεὶς δ.....  
 παρέστη τῷ Πενθεῖ καὶ ἠ-  
 νάγκασεν αὐτὸν γυναικεί-  
 αν ἀναλαβόντα στολὴν πα-  
 30 ραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν Κιθαιρῶ-  
 να καὶ θεάσασθαι τὰς χορείας.  
 τοῦτον ἀφικόμενον θεασά-  
 [μ]ενοι αἱ Βάκχαι, μελιστῖ...  
 ..[.].....ν μεναι διεῖλον  
 35 .....κρατοῦσα τὴν κε-  
 φαλήν ..... ].....  
 [ ..... ]  
 [ ..... ]  
 [ ..... ]  
 40 [ ..... ]  
 [ ..... ]

			<p>           χ]ερσιν ἔχει τὴν κ[ε]φ[αλ]ή[ν]            ]..... οὕτως ἐν            ]...τος τοὺς εἰς ἑαυτὸν            45 [ὑβρίσαντ]ας ἡμύν[ε]ατο.            Δίκτυς οὐδ' ἀ]ρχή·            ]ρ αἰθέρος παλαι-            ή δὲ ὑπ[ό]θεσ&lt;ις&gt;· τέρου&lt;ς&gt;         </p>
col. iii		col. iv	
	<p>           ]...πω...[.....]ντε            ]...ναη...α.....            ἀ]ναιρήσων Μέδουσαν            τὴν Γο]ργόνα· π[.....][.....][.....][.....]            5 ]...ρας βασιλεὺς ἀλοῦς [ἔ-            ρωτι] τῆς Δανάης κατ' ἀρχὰς            μὲν πρ]οσέφερεν αὐτῇ λόγου&lt;ς&gt;            περὶ μί]ξεως, ὥς δὲ ἀπέτυ-            χεν βι]άζεσθαι διέγνω· καὶ ἡ            10 Δανάη] μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος κατέ-            φυγεν] εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσιδῶνος            ].....[.....]· [ό] δὲ εὐλαβούμενος            τὸ π[λή]θος, μὴ βία ἀπάγων            τὴν Δανάην ἀναιρεθῆ, ἀπά-            15 τη ἐβουλήθη περιγεν[η&lt;ς&gt;]έ[ε&lt;ς&gt;]-            θ]αι αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔλεγεν Περσέα            τ]ετελευτηκέναι οἰόμενος ἀ-            πογνοῦσαν αὐτὴν τῆ[ε&lt;ς&gt;]ν' τοῦ            παιδὸς βοήθεια[ε&lt;ς&gt;]ν' συνοικί-            20 και] ἑαυτῶ· ὥς δὲ ἡ Δανάη            ]...[.....]...ρεν· παρα ε            ].....            ]...τεν Περ[ε&lt;ς&gt;]εὺ&lt;ς&gt;            ]...ε&lt;ς&gt; ἐπιστολὰς            25 ]νω...δ...θονταδε            ]...δέξεται τα            ]...[.....]...μεδῆ&lt;ς&gt;            ]...[.....]...δε ἐπελ-         </p>		<p>           εἰθ...ακ.β[            ή δὲ ὑπ[ό]θεσις·            Ἀκρίσιος...[.....]δ[            ]...]δα...[.....][.....]            5 ὀνομασθεῖσαν [.....] αυ-            τὴν εὐπρεπέϊα δια[φέρουσαν            τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὴν γυναικῶν            Ζεὺς θεασάμενος [ἑάλω ἐρω-            τι αὐτῆς· τῷ δὲ Ἀκρ[ισίω χρη[ε&lt;ς&gt;]-            10 μὸς ἐδέδοτο τὴν θυγατέρα            παρθένον μένειν· τ[ὸν γὰρ ἐ-            ξ αὐτῆς γενόμενον υἱὸν φονέα            ἔσεσθαι τοῦ μητρ[ὸς πατρός·            οὗτος χάλκεον κ[ατασκευά-            15 σαις οἶκον ἐν τούτῳ [ε.2 ἐκλει-            σεν. [ἀρ]εστῶ δ' ἐκέχρητο οἰκέ-            τηί τῷ εἰσφέροντι α[ὐτῇ τὴν            τροφήν· ὁ οὖν Ζεὺ[ε&lt;ς&gt; χρυσῶ            εἰκασθεὶς διὰ τ[ῆς ὀ]ροφ[ῆς            20 εἰς τὸν κόλ[ο]ν αὐτῆς ἐρρ[ύη            καὶ ἐγκύμονα αὐ[τὴν παρε-            σκεύασεν· μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ μή-            τηρ τη.....[.....] ἐγκύ-            μων ε.....[.....]            25 εσκήψατο καὶ α [.....] ε.7 ἡ-            νίκα δὲ ἀπεκύησεν τὸ παι-            δίον ἡ Δανάη, ἀνείλ[ετο ὥς            ἴδιον ἡ μήτηρ· καὶ λ[έγει         </p>

30 .).[.].ε[....]. . . . καταβιασά-  
 μενο[ν] τὴν Δανάην τούτοις  
 .).[....]. . . ο Περσεὺς ἀπήλ-  
 λαξε μὲν τὴν Δανάην τῆς  
 ὑβρεω[ς]. Πολυδέκτου δ' ἴκετεύ-  
 οντ[ο]ς αὐτὸν συ[[ν]]γγνώναι  
 35 τοῖς κατ' ἔρωτα πραχθεῖσι  
 κακοί[ς . . .] κίσει αὐτῷ τὴν μη-  
 τέρα ὑπέ]σχετο αὐτῷ, ἠξίω-  
 ς[ε δὲ π]αραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν  
 ἐφ[ . . . .]ν μετὰ τῶν φιλτά-  
 40 τῶν [ . . . .] ασασθαι τὸν ἀθλον  
 ὃν ἐπ[ιτετ]έλεκεν παραγενο-  
 μένων αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξας  
 τὴν [τῆς Γ]οργόνης προτομὴν  
 μετεμ[όρφ]ωσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς λί-  
 45 θους [καί] τὴν βασιλίαν παρα-  
 δοῦς [Δίκτυ]ϊ χαριστήριον τρο-  
 φίων [ἀναλα]βῶν τὴν Δανάην  
 ᾧχετ[ο εἰς Ἄρ]γος.

τῷ Ἀκρίῳ μηκέτι ἀ[παιδα εἰ-  
 30 ναι γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 υἷον γνήσιον· ἔτι δὲ ἠξί[ου  
 τὴν Δανάην φρουρᾶς ἀπο-  
 λύειν αὐτὴ φυλα . . . [ c.4  
 μένη· πεισθεῖς [δὲ ὁ Ἀκρίσι-  
 35 ος ὡς εὐνο[ε]ϊκῶ[ς αὐτῆς πα-  
 ραιούσης, ἐκέλ]ευσεν ἐξά-  
 γειν τὴν παῖδα· κ[αί c.5  
 ἐκκομίζων τα] c.9  
 ματι ἐπέτυχεν [ c.7 ἀ-  
 40 ποκυήσεως κα[ὶ τῷ Ἀκρίῳ  
 ἐπέδειξεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀκ[ρίσιος ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν αὐτῷ εἰς τ[ c.8  
 .). . . . .ε[ί]σιέναι· καὶ ἦτις  
 .).|

Fr. 3  
col. i

col. ii

. . . . .|  
 .).αν' π[. . .]  
 .).αὐτῆ· κ[. . . .]  
 . . . . .εντ[. . .]  
 5 . . . . . . . . . . .|  
 . . . . .το[ . . ] Μενέλαος [ . . .]  
 ]ενο[ . . ] τοῦ Ἰλίου· κ[ . . .]  
 ]ν· ὑπὸ ἀντιπν[ο]ι-  
 ῶν . . . ριφεῖς εἰς Αἴγυ-  
 10 πτον . . . ]ας τῆς νεώς  
 . . . . . . . . . . .|  
 . . . . .]ρα[ . . .

Ἡρακλ[ . . . . .]  
 5 βω [ . . . . .]  
 παρεγέ[νετο κα-  
 ταίθα[λ-  
 μου· ε[ . . . . .]  
 κτου [ . . . . .]  
 10 γειν το[ . . . . .]  
 . . . νομ[ν[ . . . . .]

Fr. 1+2 col. i

The play summarized in this hypothesis must be alphabetically contiguous to *Bacchae*. The sequence *δησε* in 20 tenuously suggests *Busiris*, a satyr play probably staging the story told in *Apd. Bibl.* 2.5.11: Heracles, on his way to the Hesperides, was captured by Busiris, a cruel Egyptian king who used to sacrifice strangers to Zeus, and while lying on the altar for the sacrifice broke the bonds and killed both Busiris and his son Amphidamas (τὰ δὲ δεσμὰ διαρρήξας τὸν τε Βούκιριν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα Ἀμφιδάμαντα ἀπέκτεινε). In an account of this story, ἐ]δησε οἱ κατέ]δησε may indicate the tying of Heracles in the context of his capture.

col. ii

'Cadmus and Tiresias exhorted Pentheus not to outrage (the god/Dionysus), and having deified Semele they danced in honour of Dionysus. When the guards arrived Dionysus spontaneously gave himself to the bonds, and . . . to the palace (of Pentheus?) . . . destroyed it, and once untied . . . he stood by Pentheus and forced him to wear a female dress and climb the Cithaeron to watch the dances . . . When he arrived the Bacchae saw him . . . tore apart limb by limb . . . seizing the head . . . (sc. Agave) has the head in her hands. So (Dionysus) punished those who had outraged him.

'Dictys, whose incipit (is): ". . . aether . . . the ancients (?)". This is the plot.'

15–18 Κά[[δμος μὲ]ν οὖν καὶ Τειρ[ε]σίας | [τῷ Πενθ]εῖ παρήνουν μὴ εἰς | [ c.7 ] υβρίζειν: cf. *Bacch.* 309–13 and 330 ff., where the same verb *παραινέω* is used (330); a critical description of Pentheus' attitude can be found in 358–9. After εἰς, probably [τὸν θεόν] or [Διόνυσον] υβρίζειν.

18–19 ἀπο|θεώσαντες Σεμέλην: the reference to Semele's deification is consistent with vv. 10–12 of the play, where Dionysus mentions her *κηκός*, founded by Cadmus, and 997–1101, from which it is clear that she has a place in the Dionysiac cult. The hypothesis preserved in P does not refer to Semele, but a very fragmentary sentence in 4017 fr. 2 ii 12–15, omitted in the mediaeval manuscript, seems to contain her name.

20–23 ἀφικομένων . . . δεσμοῖς: cf. *Bacch.* 434–7.

21 ὑπασπιετῶν: the word designates Pentheus' guards (cf. *Bacch.* 781 ἄσπιδηφόρους). This technical term, commonly used to indicate a specific unit of the Alexandrian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid army, also belongs to tragic diction; cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 1213, [*Eur.*] *Rh.* 2. The scholium on the latter passage explains the word *ὑπασπιετῆς* as specifically referring to the king's squires, as opposed to the unspecialized *τευχοφόρος*. This is consistent with the expected meaning of the noun in this hypothesis. The connection with a Macedonian context has been particularly emphasized by V. Liapis as part of the wider theory that the *Rhesus* was first produced in Macedon in the third quarter of the fourth century BC (*JHS* 129 (2009) 77, and *A Commentary on the Rhesus Attributed to Euripides* (2012) 73), but see A. Fries, *Pseudo-Euripides, Rhesus* (2014) 18–21.

23–6 Between *δεσμοῖς* (23) and *λυθείς* (26) the hypothesis probably retells the events narrated and staged in 443–519, but a reference to Pentheus' capturing some Maenads and their marvellous liberation seems to be missing. The mediaeval hypothesis refers to their capture (6–7 Diggle) but not to their escape.

24–5 εἰς τὰ βασιλεία . . . |θεως: *θεως* may be the ending of *Πενθέως*, but 509–10 refer specifically to the *ἰππικαὶ φάτναι*, and not to the king's *βασιλεία*, as the place where the guards are going to imprison the stranger. The Maenads are not imprisoned in the palace either, but in the *πάνδημος στήγη* (444). However, 636–7 ἤσυχος δ' ἐκβὰς ἐγὼ / δωμάτων ἤκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς (partially resulting from textual emendation) indicate that the stranger, after setting himself free, comes out of the palace.

25–6 ταῦτα μὲν . . . . . ἐρ|ριψεν: ταῦτα must refer to τὰ βασιλεία and the verb must indicate Dionysus' destruction of the palace. A compound such as *κατέρριψεν* is likely; cf. *Plut. Luc.* 34.4 τὰ βασιλεία καταρρίψαντες. The preverbal force of *κατά* is the same as that of the adverb *χαμάζε* in



*Bacch.* 633 δώματ' ἔρρηξεν χαμάζε. More letters are required in 25 to fill the space entirely: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κατέρριψεν is possible, but one can also think of a double compound such as the rare ἀποκατέρριψεν, attested in Galen with the meaning of 'plunging' (LSJ).

26 λυθείς: cf. *Bacch.* 642–9.

27 παρέστη: the verb seems to convey Dionysus' standing by the king instead of fleeing after escaping the prison. A transitive form of παρίστημι (παρέστη(σε)) preceded by the accusative of a noun indicating madness (μανία, λύσσα) or more mildly desire (to see the Maenads: ἔρως, προθυμία, ἐπιθυμία, cf. the stranger's question in 812 τί δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τοῦδε πέπτωκας μέγαν;) would aptly convey the change of attitude that Dionysus induces in Pentheus, making him willing to wear female clothes and watch the Bacchae: see in particular 849–53, in which the stranger asks Dionysus to send madness upon Pentheus. For the construction cf. Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 1.441, Plut. *Philop.* 7.6.

27–31 ἠνάγκασεν . . . χορείας: for the contents of these lines cf. *Bacch.* 821–61.

33–4 μελιτὶ . . . [.] . . . ν. μенаι: after μελιτὶ the sequence λυ|ζώδεις γενόμεναι is compatible with the visible traces, but the hyperbaton between the preceding adverb and the plausible διεἶλον is striking. The several examples of separation of noun and attributive adjective found in Euripidean hypotheses (cf. iv 14–15 and Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests*? 8 n. 22) are milder. A participle in -μεναι seems certain, and ἀντιτεινόμεναι or the much rarer ἀντεπιτεινόμεναι, both suggested by Mastronarde, may be close to the author's intentions, but neither is entirely compatible with the traces.

35 κρατοῦσα or a compound (Mastronarde): a reference to Agave's seizing of Pentheus' head is expected; see 42 below and *Bacch.* 1139–40, 1214–15.

42 χ]ερσὶν ἔχει τὴν κ[ε]φ[αλ]ῆ[ν]: in the extant narrative hypotheses the present tense is rare in main clauses, but regularly used in indirect interrogatives and declaratives; cf. for example *hyp. Teleph.* XXVII 2455, fr. 12 6–7 ὅτι . . . δεῖ, *hyp. Phae.* XXVII 2455, fr. 14.5 6–7 ἀπιστοῦντι . . . ὡς ἔστιν. The almost consistent use of past tenses in 5283 (but the *Danae* hypothesis in this papyrus perhaps had λέγει in main clause: see fr. 1+2 iv 28) suggests that ἔχει might belong to a dependent clause. In *Bacch.* 1277–84 Cadmus makes Agave realize that the head she has in her hands is not that of a lion as she believes, but the head of her son Pentheus. The papyrus may have had a sentence such as Ἄγαυῆ κατέμαθεν/κατενόησεν ὅτι ἐν | [ταῖς χ]ερσὶν ἔχει τὴν κ[ε]φ[αλ]ῆ[ν] | [(τὴν) Πενθέως.

43–5 οὕτως . . . ἡμύν[ε]ῖατο: the hypothesis ends with a sort of moral of the play: something similar, at least in spirit, is found at the end of the mediaeval hypothesis, partially obscured by textual corruption. The papyrus here does not help in the reconstruction of the lacuna after *Bacch.* 1329, but this seems due to the relative brevity of the account (which, apart from the 'moral of the story', does not seem to include information derived from the exodus, expected after 42), rather than to the gaps of the papyrus. In 43–4 one expects οὕτως μὲν | [οὖν (ὁ) Διόν]υκος, although υ is not an obvious reading of the corresponding trace in 44.

47–8 ]ρ αἰθέρος παλαιτέρους: the play's incipit exceeds the papyrus line length; hence its last six letters occupy the right-hand part of the following line, after the formula ἢ δὲ ὑπ]όθεσις. There are other examples of incipits written on two lines, but the second part is normally found at the beginning of the second line, while ἢ δὲ ὑπόθεσις is either on another line (5284) or on the right-hand part of the same line: see e.g. XXVII 2455 and LX 4017. Remains of possibly more compact or concise headings are found in P. IFAO inv. P.S.P. 248 (M. Papathomopoulos, *RechPap* 3 (1964) 37–47, *Medea* hypothesis), I.II 3652 (*Phrixus I* hypothesis), P. Mil. Vogl. II 44 (*Hippolitus II* hypothesis), and P. Mich. inv. 3020a (W. Luppe, *ZPE* 176 (2011) 52–4, *Polyidus* hypothesis).

Following a conjecture by A. Körte (*Hermes* 67 (1932) 367–8), Kannicht tentatively prints *TrGF* v.1 F 330b *Σερίφος ἄλμη ποντία περίρρυτος* as the *arche* of Euripides' *Ditys*. The fragment, quoted by Philodemus without any indication of author or play, can be plausibly assigned to Euripides' *Ditys*, but other attributions are possible. The only inference we can draw from 5283 is that it did not occupy the initial position in this play.

The word division in the line is uncertain. A possible articulation is ]ρ αἰθέρος παλαιτέρους. In this case, αἰθέρος may be a genitive of comparison (but is there a masculine plural entity older than the aether?), a possessive genitive (which would imply that the aether has a masculine plural part or attribution, e.g. μῦχους, πόλους, κενθμώνας στ δρόμους), or part of the phrase παρ' αἰθέρος.

Another plausible segmentation is αἰθέρ' ὅς, αἰθέρ' being the elided form of the accusative αἰθέρα, with the relative ὅς referring to it (cf. *TrGF* v.1 F 330 τὸν θ' ὃν καλοῦσιν αἰθέρ', ὅστις ἔστι δῆ). A phrasing like λαβούσα μάρτυρ' αἰθέρ', ὅς παλαιτέρους is possible: cf. *HF* 187 ἐσθλὸν τι δράσας μάρτυρ' ἂν λάβοις πάτραν and, for the aether as an interlocutor of a character on stage, *IT* 42-3 ἄ καινὰ δ' ἤκει νύξ φέρουσα φάσματα/ λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', *TrGF* v.1 F 487 ὁμνυμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός. This solution, merely speculative, would require a finite verb in the following lines, possibly in the first person singular, which would suggest a female prologue speaker (Danae?). However, a participial incipit would be unusual.

Irrespectively of the segmentation of the sequence αἰθερος, the preceding word may also be γάρ: for a γάρ-clause in a play incipit see e.g. the incomplete first line of the satyr play *Sciron* (*TrGF* v.2 F 674a).

The forms παλαιέτεροι and παλαιτέρων are attested in this metrical position in Eur. *Med.* 68 (παλαιέτεροι *Chl. Pat.* 1181, παλαιάτατοι MSS) and *Hipp.* 451 respectively, meaning 'the old men' and 'the ancients' respectively, and *HF* 768 has παλαιέτερος ('the previous (king)'). Dictys is old in the homonymous Euripidean play (see *TrGF* v.1 F 337 and 342, and the Apulian vase discussed by Kan-nicht at *TrGF* v.1 381-2 = T3 Karamanou); a reference to old men could be appropriate in a prologic monologue delivered by him (on Dictys as the *prologizon* of this play, see Karamanou, *Euripides* 134). Otherwise, the speaker may refer to the ancients as the source for a piece of information or denomination of the αἰθήρ, although the accusative case makes it difficult to imagine a suitable syntax. A connection between the latter and οἱ παλαιοὶ is found in medical writings, in which αἰθήρ is recorded as an ancient denomination of a specific kind of air: see Galen in *Hippocr. epid.* VI 17b 185 K καλεῖν γὰρ ἔθος τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὅταν μὲν ἀκριβῶς καθαρὸν ἢ τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς, αἰθέρα, τὸ δ' ἀχλυῶδες ἢ νεφῶδες αἶρα, and Hippocr. *De carn.* 2 καὶ ὀνομήναί μοι αὐτὸ (scil. ὃ καλέομεν θερμὸν) δοκέουσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ αἰθέρα.

The αἰθήρ is the topic of the above mentioned *TrGF* v.1 F 330, from Euripides' *Danae*, where the mutability of the human fortunes is compared to that of the aether: see Karamanou, *Euripides* 110-12 for a comment and further parallels.

48 ἢ δὲ ὑπ' ὀθεσ(ις): there is no ink nor indication of faded ink after sigma. The scribe either implicitly abbreviated the word or omitted the final letters by homeoteleuton. The fact that the final extant *ς* is smaller suggests that the end of the incipit which occupies the right-hand part of the writing space was written before and did not leave enough space for the usual formula.

col. iii

'To kill the Gorgon Medousa . . . king, having fallen in love with Danae, firstly proposed to her; but since he did not succeed, he decided to rape her, and Danae took refuge in the sanctuary of Poseidon together with Dictys. (Polydectes), being on his guard against the multitude, lest he be killed for trying to lead her away by force, decided to conquer her deceitfully, and spread the word that Perseus had died, believing that once despairing of her son's help she would have married him. When Danae . . . Perseus . . . letter . . . would receive . . . having subdued Danae . . . to these . . . Perseus set Danae free from the outrage. Polydectes implored his forgiveness for the evil he had done for love, and Perseus promised to give him his mother in marriage (?). He asked him to go . . . with his closest friends to see (?) the feat he had accomplished. As they arrived, showing the head of the Gorgon he turned them into stones, then he entrusted the reign to Dictys as a reward for having raised him, and went to Argos with Danae.'

1-4 Since the previous column ends with the heading, the first line of this column must contain the beginning of the hypothesis. The initial situation of the play was presumably described in the prologue (see Karamanou, *Euripides* 134-5 for a reconstruction). From 3-4 we can infer that Perseus has left Seriphus, the setting of the play, to kill the Gorgon Medousa, a mission plausibly assigned to him by Polydectes: from the participle ἀναιρήσεων we can deduce that Perseus' name in the nominative case, or a periphrasis to indicate him, is to be supplied. For his absence in the first part of the play see Karamanou, *Euripides* 134.

4-5 Π[ο]λ[υ]δ[έ]κ[τ]η[ς] [δ]έ | [ὁ τῆς χ]ώρας βασιλεὺς is a tempting restoration, but the trace after π is more plausibly interpreted as ε than ο. In any case, βασιλεὺς in the following line certainly designates Polydectes, and (ὁ) τῆς χ]ώρας βασιλεὺς remains the most likely supplement for 5. If πε is correct as the opening of the sentence in 4, then one might think of πέμπει γὰρ αὐτὸν (Mastronarde), which would contribute the most to the narrative summary, but would introduce a potentially problematic historic present (but cf. iv 28).

5-6 ἀλοῦς [ε]||ρωτι] τῆς Δανάης: cf. iv 8-9 Ζεὺς θεασάμενος [ἔ]αλω ἔρω||τι αὐτῆς, *Jos. Ant. Jud.* 20.18 τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἑλένης ἀλοῦς ἔρωτι, *Palaeogr.* 44 ἔρωτι ἔαλω αὐτῆς. For this aspect of the story cf. *Pher.* fr. 11 Fowler (= *Sch. Ap. Rh.* 4.1515) Πολυδέκτης ὁ Δίκτυος ὁμομήτριος (ἀδελφός), βασιλεὺς *Κερίφου τυγχάνων, ἰδὼν τὴν Δανάην, ἠράσθη αὐτῆς*, *Apd. Bibl.* 2.4.2 βασιλευῶν δὲ τῆς *Κερίφου Πολυδέκτης ἀδελφός Δίκτυος, Δανάης ἔρασθεις*. In a fourth-century BC Apulian vase painting connected to Euripides' *Dichys* by Karamanou (*BICS* (46) 167-75), Aphrodite and Eros appear above Polydectes.

6 The oblique sign above η in Δανάης may be a grave accent (cf. ii 47 πάλαιτερουε); for the use of the grave on syllables that follow the high pitch, see J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137-63 at 146. It is more on the left than expected, falling on the left-hand upright of the letter instead of occupying the larger space above the horizontal crossbar. For grave accents similarly protruding to the left, above the letter preceding the one on which they are placed, see for example the Homeric papyrus P. Lond. Lit. 28, col. xv 7 (*Il.* 24.742), col. xvi 1 (*Il.* 24.779), P. Ryl. Gr. I 53 fol. 91 verso 18 (*Il.* 23.288) and 26 (*Il.* 23.296). The word also has an acute accent on the second α (paralleled in iii 20), and the two accents cross in their upper part. The presence of two accents on the same word has no parallels in this papyrus. Note that the position of the accents and the appearance of the ink in this case seem to point to a second hand or at least secondary addition.

7-8 προέφερεν αὐτῇ λόγους | [περὶ μί]ξεως: for the exact phrasing, see the narration on *Tennes* (perhaps a hypothesis of the homonymous play by Euripides or Critias) preserved in O. Kellis inv. D/3/90 8-9 (M. Huys, *ZPE* 152 (2005) 207, with further parallels).

11-12 εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος | [ἔ]ρον, as probably in PSI XII 1286 fr. B 2, may be too short, while τ[έ]μενος seems to accommodate the length of the lacuna. For the contents of these lines cf. XXXI 2536 5-10 (Theon's commentary on Pi. P. 12) βιαζομένης γὰρ τῆς Δα||ιάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδ[έ]κτου συνέβη αὐτὴν κατα||φυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ (the name of the god is missing, but a blank space has been left after the article).

13 τὸ π[λ]η]θος Mastronarde.

15-16 περιγεν[η]ς[ε]||[ε]θ]αι: a deletion dot can be seen above the ε at line end, indicating that an original syllable division περιγεν[η]ς[ε]θαι was corrected to περιγεν[η]ς[ε]θαι. A ε was likely added right before the beginning of 16 in the left-hand margin; cf. fr. 1+2 iv 9-10 n.

20 ἐαυτῷ Mastronarde.

20-31 These lines must have contained a crucial part of the dramatic plot, seemingly involving a letter (24 ἐπιστολὰς; ἐπὶ στολὰς seems unlikely), but the text is too fragmentary to allow a reconstruction.

28-30 Despite the high uncertainty of the traces at the beginning of 29, the participle ἐπελ- [θ]ῶ[ν] seems inevitable and aptly conveys a crucial turning point of the play. Περσεὺς δὲ ἐπελ- [θ]ῶ[ν] is a possible reading. For what follows Mastronarde proposes (sc. Perseus) εἶδεν or εἶδρον α]ὐτὸν καταβιασά[μενο]ν τὴν Δανάην.

31 After τούτοις (30), perhaps a verbal form of about seven letters conveying Perseus' anger or distress for the situation he finds at Scriphus on his return, e.g. ὀργισθείς. δυσφορήσας (cf. ἐδυσφόρει in *hyp. Barch.* l. 6 Diggle) would be too long, while the two final letters of δυσφορῶν do not seem compatible with the two traces before ο Περσεύς.

33-5 Πολυδέκτου δὲ ἰκετεύουσι[ο]ς αὐτὸν συ[ν]γγνώμην | τοῖς κατ' ἔρωτα πραχθείσι | κακοῖ[ς]: *TrGF* v.1 F 340, from the *Dichys*, quoted by *Stob.* 4.20.48 in the section labeled as ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης, probably belongs to this part of the play.

36-7 ]κίται αὐτῷ τὴν μη[τέρα ὑπέ]σχετο: it seems that Perseus simulates reconciliation with Polydectes by promising that he will give him Danae in marriage. συνοῖ]κίται is the expected verb (cf. e.g. *hyp. Or.* l. 21 Diggle), but κακοῖ[ς συνοῖ]κίται is too long, while the simple οἰ]κίται does not convey a satisfying meaning.

The construction of ὑπεσχεῖσθαι with an aorist infinitive is paralleled in documents of the Roman period such as BGU I 19, 19 τοῦτο ἀποδείξει διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπέσχετο (AD 135), P. Fouad 27, 24 ὑπέσχετο δοῦναι μοι (post Nov. AD 43), P. Mich. VIII 506, 5-6 ἀπαλλάξαι ἤδη ὑπέ[σ]χετο (second century). See also *sch. A Il.* 13.366a (Aristonicus) ὑποσχομένους ἐξελᾶσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

37-40 ἡξίω[ς] εἰ δὲ π]αραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν | ἐφ[. . . .]ν μετὰ τῶν φίλων: the plural αὐτοῦς as the object of the petrification (44) assures us that the φίλοι involved in this part of the story are those of Polydectes. It seems that Perseus invites Polydectes and his friends instead of being invited by Polydectes, as for example in *Apd. Bibl.* 2.4.2: Euripides' treatment is thus closer to *Pher. fr.* 11 Fowler, in which Perseus asks Polydectes to gather the people of Scriphus, although in our case the gathering is limited to Polydectes and his closest φίλοι. At the beginning of 39 ἐφ' ἐ[ορτῆ]ν (Mastroradic) or ἐφ' ἐ[αυτῶ]ν seem plausible supplements.

40-41 ]ασθαι τὸν ἀθλον | ὃν ἐπ[ι]τετε]λέκεν: [καὶ θε]άσασθαι fits the space. A conjunction seems required, and a *verbum videndi* is suggested by 42 ἐπιδείξας. However, the following τὸν ἀθλον . . . ἐπ[ι]τετε]λέκεν seems to allude, not to a physical object to show (such as a prize), but to the feat that Perseus has accomplished (for ἀθλον ἐπιτελέω cf. e.g. *Hdt.* 1.126, 4.43, *D.S.* 4.15.4, *Luc. Patr. Enc.* 7). Therefore a verb indicating celebration or feast may seem better, but [καὶ ἐορτ]άσασθαι is slightly too long, while [καὶ δ]α(ί)σασθαι would require a small textual correction. An ἔρανος is the context of Perseus' vengeance in *Pher. fr.* 11 and *Apd. Bibl.* 2.4.2, and Theon's commentary in 2536 2 indicates the circumstances of the petrification with the participle εὐ]ωχουμένοις.

42-5 ἐπιδείξας | τὴν [τῆς Γ]οργόνης προτομὴν | μετεμ[όρφ]ωσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς λίθους: the stratagem is found in other accounts of the same myth, and the petrification is one of the recurring details of this story, cf. in particular Theon's *Hyponoma* on Pindar in 2536 2-3 εὐ]ωχουμένοις γ(ὰρ) αὐτοῖς τούτοις [εἶδειν ὁ Περσεύς τῆ]ν κεφαλὴν καὶ οὕτως ἀπελιθώθησαν.

45-6 τὴν βασιλίαν (l. βασιλείαν) παραδοῦς [Δίκτυ]ι: for this detail of the story, see e.g. *Apd. Bibl.* 2.4.2.

46-7 χαριστήριον τροφίων (l. τροφείων): the plural τροφεία indicates maintenance in several documents (*LSJ* IV) and tragic passages (*Aesch. Sept.* 477, *Soph. OC* 341, *Eur. El.* 626, *Ion* 852, 1493); for a comparable phrasing cf. *D. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 6.9.5 πόλει τῇ γενομένη τροφείων δικαίας ἀπαιτούση χάριτας ἀποδώσοντας, while τροφῆς χαριστήρια is attested in Julian, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίον* 12.5.

47-8 [ἀναλα]βὼν τὴν Δανάην | ὥχετο εἰς Ἄργος: for this detail of the story, cf. *Pher. fr.* 12 Fowler (= *sch. A.R.* 4.1091 Wendel) and *Apd. Bibl.* 2.4.4.

col. iv

And this is the plot:

'Acisius . . . called . . . Zeus, having seen her, who exceeded in beauty the women of her time, fell in love with her. But Acisius had received an oracle recommending that his daughter remain

a virgin, since whoever was born from her would have been his grandfather's killer. He built a bronze chamber and shut Danae in it. He would use a trustworthy servant to bring her food. But Zeus flowed through the roof into her womb, in the shape of gold, and made her pregnant. Her mother, having found out . . . pretended to be pregnant herself (?) and when Danae gave birth, she took the baby as her own. And she tells Acrisius that he is not without male heirs anymore, since a legitimate son has been born to him. Moreover, she asked (him) to set Danae free, as she could guard her personally (?). Acrisius, believing that she was advising for the best, ordered to free their daughter. And the (servant?) who was taking out . . . ran into . . . of the childbirth and showed (it/them) to Acrisius. Acrisius ordered him to enter into . . . And whoever . . .'

1-3 Much of the ink of this area has vanished, and several fibres are misplaced or lost. This, together with a number of fractures, makes the interpretation of this portion of the papyrus extremely uncertain.

1 The expected first line of the heading, *Δανάη ἥτις ἀρχή*, seems to be missing. The right part of a small triangular sign above the fourth letter of 1 can be discerned, with a dot above the horizontal. The sign may be interpreted as part of the letter Δ. The bottom of an upright slightly sloping towards the left and touching the following line can be discerned under it; the dot above the horizontal of the triangular letter can be the top of the same upright. Taken altogether, these traces are compatible with the monogram Δ, which is found in Greek papyri to indicate *diorthosis*; see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraka* (1981) 25. It may be understood as either *δι(ὠρθωται)* or *δι(ορθωτέον)*. The former is found in Homeric papyri, namely the Hawara Homer (W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (1889) 24-6) and P. Ross. Georg. I 4, in the colophon following ll. 2 and 17 respectively, and indicates that the text above has undergone *diorthosis*. Such a process has certainly been conducted on our hypotheses, as the numerous corrections show, but we would expect to find the monogram at the end, not above a single column. As an abbreviation for *δι(ορθωτέον)*, the sign would indicate the need for a correction. This would be consistent with its occurrence above a heading that seems to omit the first item. Possible parallels are found in P. IFAO inv. 75 (J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 46 (1947) 66-7), PSI XV 1480, P. Berol. inv. 9782 (BKT II 3-51), and XXXII 2617; see McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (2007) 282, 300, 350, 371.

The sequence εἶθ may be the beginning of a iambic trimeter (cf. *Med.* 1 εἶθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργούε μὴ διαπτάσθαι κἀφός) but can also belong to the final part of a trimeter (cf. *TrGF* v.1 F 201.3 κακοὶ πολῖται· δεῖ γὰρ ἄνδρ' εἰθισμένον). It is not clear whether the visible traces were originally followed by more letters; if not, this must be the end of the line. With an average length of about 30 letters, the iambic trimeter exceeds the line length of this papyrus; but in fr. 1+2 ii the final part of the incipit is written below the line and does not occupy a new line of its own. Among the unassigned fragments of Euripides, *TrGF* v.2 F 987 Kannicht εἶθ' ἦν ἀφῶνον σπέρμα δυκτῆνων βροτῶν does not suit all the traces.

3 A reference to Acrisius' genealogy and status in Argos would be in line with the typical genealogical incipit of the Euripidean narrative hypotheses (Meccariello, *Le hypotheses narratives* 49), but perhaps would occupy too much space, since *ὀνομασθείσαν* in 5 also requires a previous reference to Acrisius' having a daughter (cf. the spurious *Danae* prologue, *TrGF* v.2 F 1132. 18-20 ὁμοῦ δὲ γε τίκτει λαθῶν, / πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἡμέρου νικώμενος. / Δανάην δὲ πῶς ὀνόμασε τήνδε(ε)). The tempting restoration *Ἀκρίσιος π[αῖς Ἄβαντος]*, *δ[υνά]||[κτης] δ' Ἀργ[ουε, πα]||[δα εἶχεν]* | *ὀνομασθείσαν [Δανάην (καὶ) αὐ]||[τήν] (οἱ ταύ]||[τήν])* does not accommodate the space in the first lacuna, for which *π[αῖς Ἄβαντος]* seems too long (and so does the equivalent *υ[ἰὸς Ἄβαντος]*, also compatible with the trace before the lacuna). The name of Acrisius' father is known from several sources starting from Hes. fr. 135 M-W, and no suitable alternative is attested. The upright after the traces interpreted as the name of Acrisius and the δ at the end of the line are compatible with *γ[ήμας Εὐρυ]δ[ίκην]*, cf. the opening

of the *Heracles* hypothesis Ἡρακλῆς γήμας Μεγάραν; however, this supplement too seems to exceed the length of the lacuna, while κ[αὶ Εὐρυ]δ[ίκη] would fit. The name of Danae's mother is Aganippe only in Hyg. *fab.* 63, Euridice in all the other sources: see Apd. *Bibl.* 2.2.2, Karamanou, *Euripides* 1, n. 2. In 4 the traces after δα are also compatible with Δανά[ην], but the name would be too far from ὀνομασθεΐσαν in the following line.

6-7 εὐπρεπέϊα δια[φέρουσαν] | τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὴν γυναικῶν: a reference to the exceptional beauty of the character with whom someone falls in love is often found in narrative hypotheses; see Meccariello, *Le ipotesi narrative* 51. The detail of Danae's beauty is common (see already Hom. *Il.* 14.319 Δανάης καλλιφύρου Ἀκρισιῶνης) and paralleled in the mediaeval hypothesis (3-4 καλλίστην οὐσαν = Luc. *Dial. marit.* 12.1) and the spurious prologue (26 κάλλος εἶχεν ἔξοχον καθ' Ἑλλάδα). For the construction cf. D.S. 4.63.2 εὐπρεπέϊα δὲ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν.

8-9 Ζεὺς θεασάμενος [ἑάλω ἔρω] | τι αὐτῆς: cf. iii 5-6 n. The connection of vision and enamouring is paralleled in *hyp. Hipp. II* ll. 8-9 Diggle.

9-13 τῷ δὲ Ἀκρ[ισίω] . . . τοῦ μητρ[οῦ] πατρός: on the oracle see Pherec. fr. 10 Fowler (= *sch.* Ap. Rh. 4.1091), Apd. *Bibl.* 2.4.1.

9-10 χρη[ε] | μός: the protruding ε at the beginning of 10 was probably added secondarily as part of a correction of a previous syllable division χρης | μός. Consonant clusters with ε can be divided both before and after ε, and a survey conducted by D. Colomo and presented at the XXVI International Congress of Papyrology ('Word Division in Greek Literary Papyri', unpublished) shows that in oratory and Plato papyri both practices are well attested. P. Lond. Lit. 131 (Isocrates, *De pace*, first/second century) is an interesting case: here the main scribe consistently divides the word after ε, while the second hand, following the other rule, corrects many instances (see, for example: col. xxv 995-6 μνη[ε] | σθησομαι; col. xxxvii-xxxviii 1535-6 παρα[ε] | κκευαζειν; col. xliii 1822-3 ενε[ε] | στιν). The coexistence of the two practices apparently reflects a *querelle* among grammarians, mentioned by Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 1.173-4.

11-12 τ[ὸν] γὰρ ε[ἴ]ξ αὐτῆς γενόμενο[ν] υἱόν: cf. D.S. 4.62.1 τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζονίδος γενόμενον υἱόν.

12-13 φονέα | ἔσεσθαι τοῦ μητρ[οῦ] πατρός: cf. [Herm.] *de inv.* 4.13, 79 Rabe ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ γεννηθησόμενον φονέα ἔσεσθαι τοῦ πατρός.

14-16 οὗτος χάλκεον κ[ατασκευά] | κας οἶκον ἐν τούτῳ [ε.2 ἐκλει] | σεν: the bronze chamber is mentioned in Euripides' *Archelaus* (TrGF v.1 F 228a 7 ὅς τ' ἐγκατήγευ χαλκῆς νυμφεύματ[ι]); see also Pherec. fr. 10 Fowler and Apd. *Bibl.* 2.4.1, where the chamber is clearly subterranean, as well as Soph. *Ant.* 945 ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς. There seems to be no reference to the subterranean location in 5283. Noticeably, in the mediaeval hypothesis Danae is kept ἐν τοῖς παρθενῶσιν instead (cf. Luc. *Dial. mar.* 12.1 ἐπαρθένευεν with *sch.* ΓΩ ἐν παρθενῶσιν ἐφύλαττεν).

15-16 [ε.2 ἐκλει] | σεν: the compound κατέκλει | σεν is a possibility. The object is not explicit in the extant parts of the lines, but [αὐτὴν ἐκλει] | σεν seems too long.

16-17 [ἀρ]εστῷ δ' ἐκέχρη[ητο οἴκε] | τηί: this could be the same person mentioned in 37-41. For this use of ἀρεστός, the only suitable adjective compatible with both the extant traces and letters and the space in the lacuna, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 2.3.7 συνήθησεν καὶ ἀρεστός ἀνὴρ. The adjective πιστός would be more obvious in this context, but the trace before ε is not compatible with ι, while strongly suggesting ε.

18-20 ὁ οὖν Ζεὺ[ε] . . . ἐρρ[ύη]: this detail of the story is well established in the myth, cf. e.g. Eur. *Archelaus* TrGF v.1 F 228a 9-10 Δανάης δὲ Περσεὺς ἐγένετ' ἐκ χρυσορρύτων/ σταγόνων and Apd. *Bibl.* 2.4.1 Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθείς εἰς χρυσὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Δανάης εἰςρυεῖς κόλπους συνῆλθεν.

19 τ[ῆς] ὀροφ[ῆς]: the noun is supplied with Apollodorus, but τοῦ ὀρόφου is also possible.

21-2 καὶ ἐγκύμονα αὐ[τὴν] παρε] | κκεύασεν: for this uncommon construction cf. Jo. Galen. *All. in Hes.* p. 364, 6 Flach ἐγκύμονα παρεσκεύασε ταύτην.

22-3 μαθο[ύσα δὲ ἡ μή]||τηρ τη. . . . .[: a possible object for μαθο[ύσα is τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Danae's mother seems to have had a role in Sophocles' *Acisius* as well, if *TrGF* iv F 65 is addressed to her. The list of characters preserved in P between the hypothesis and the spurious prologue does not include Danae's mother but a τροφός, who is not mentioned in the extant part of 5283 (one is notably shut in the bronze chamber with Danae in Pher. fr. 10).

23-5 e.g. ἐγκύ[μω]ων ἐσκευάσθ[αι Ἀκρισίω] | ἐσκήψατο, cf. 21-2 ἐγκύμονα αὐ[τὴν παρε]||σκεύασεν. The traces after μω]ων are very scanty, except the initial epsilon. The simpler εἶναι, suggested by Mastronarde, can also be accommodated in the line, but something else is required to fill the space.

28-31 καὶ λέγει] . . . γνήσιον: in *TrGF* v.1 F 316 (from the *Danae*) a character expresses joy for a new-born. The hypothesis suggests that this character is Acrisius, who wrongly believes to have just had a baby from his wife: for a discussion of the relevant fragments and further bibliography see Karamanou, *Euripides* 23.

29-30 ἀ[παιδα] . . . [αὐτῶ]: ἀ[παιδας] . . . [αὐτοῖς] is also possible. ἀπαιεῖ is used in the play (*TrGF* v.1 F 316.6). The reference is obviously to the lack of male offspring; cf. Hdt. 5.48.

31 ἡξί[ου]: ἡξί[ωσε] is also possible.

33 αὐτῆ φυλά[ξε]σ[εν] [ἐν δυνά]||μένη, or φυλακῆ[ν]/φυλάξ[αι] ὑφιστα[μένη] or φύλαξ [γεινη]||μένη seem plausible solutions. The alternative restoration φύλαξ ἐ[σ]||μένη (Mastronarde) seems too short, and the simpler φυλαξο[μένη] is certainly excluded.

37-41 κ[αὶ] ε.5 || ἐκκομίζων τα[ ε.9] ||ματι ἐπέτυχεν [ ε.7 ἀ]||ποκυήσεως κα[ὶ] τῷ Ἀκρισίω] | ἐπέδειξεν: the character to which the participle ἐκκομίζων refers is probably a servant; thus a plausible supplement in 37 is ὁ δούλος ὁ (or ὁ δμῶς ὁ or a similar word; δούλος τις also seems a suitable option). He is responsible for the discovery of the childbirth; quite differently, in Pherecydes' account Acrisius discovers the truth by hearing the child's shouts. After ἐκκομίζων a periphrasis such as τὰ [ἐν τῷ οἰκῆ]||ματι would aptly indicate the object of the verb. With τ[ῷ χρυσῷ] ἀ]||ποκυήσεως, admittedly a problematic phrase if ἀ]||ποκυήσεως cannot indicate conception but just childbirth, the narrative would be in line with the common assumption, based on the fragments of the play concerning the power of money (*TrGF* v.1 F 324-7), that Acrisius found gold in Danae's chamber and inferred from it that Danae had been seduced by a rich man (see Karamanou, *Euripides* 26 with further bibliography). The servant may also have fallen upon some other object indicating the childbirth, perhaps τ[ῷ λέχῳ] or ελαιῷ or ἐρίῳ (for a list of objects used in a childbirth, see Soran. *Gynaec.* 2.2). The verb ἐπιτυγχάνω may also govern the genitive.

40 κα[ὶ] τῷ Ἀκρισίω: βασιλεῖ or δυνάστη instead of Ἀκρισίω would avoid the repetition of the proper name, but this does not seem to be a concern in this papyrus.

42-3 εἰς τ[ ε.8 ]||[ . . . . . ] ε[ἰ]σιέναι: the probable ε[ἰ]σιέναι may be transitive (from εἰσιήμι) or intransitive (from εἰσειμι). In the former case, the hypothesis might retell Acrisius' decision of placing Danae and the newborn in a chest or box (λάρναξ in Pherecydes and Apollodorus, κιβωτός in the mediaeval hypothesis and Luc. *Dial. mar.*; a further possibility is κιβώτιον) and abandon it to the sea. τ[ in this case would more plausibly be the indefinite τίνα or τι than a definite article. There is more space before the verb than required by τίνα λάρνακα, τίνα κιβωτόν, or τι κιβώτιον alone; an object such as τὸ παιδίον or βρέφος would be appropriate, but neither is compatible with the traces in 43. Alternatively, the infinitive of εἰσειμι may suggest an order to enter the gynaeceum to find out whether the alleged child of Acrisius and his wife was actually Danae's: εἰς τ[τὴν γυναικείαν] or τ[ὸν γυναικῶνα] | [κ]ατὰ β[ί]αν ε[ἰ]σιέναι would suit both the extent of the lacuna at the end of 42 and the traces in 43, and ἤτις, 'whoever', at the end of 43 would also fit this context.

Fr. 3 col. i

\*Menelaus . . . (of) Troy . . . cast to Egypt by contrary winds . . . from the ship . . .

6-10 Μενέλαος . . . Αἴγυ[[πτον: on the contents of this segment, see Eur. *Hel.* 400-410.

6-7 Μενέλαος . . . Υλίου: perhaps a reference to Menelaus' departure from Troy (e.g. Μενέλαος [δ(ε) | ἀφορμώμ]ενο[ς] τοῦ Υλίου), or an allusion to the fall of Troy (e.g. Μενέλαος [δ(ε) | νεικημ]ένο[ς] τοῦ Υλίου), cf. *Hel.* 401-402 τλήμων ἀλώμαι χρόνον ὄσον περ Υλίου / πύργους ἔπερα.

8-9 ὑπὸ ἀντιπν[ο]ι[[ῶν ] . . . ριφεῖς: ἐκριφεῖς is a possible reading; for the use of ἐκρίπτω with this meaning, cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 19.2 Δημητρίου χειμῶνι μεγάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς τόπους ἀλμείνους καὶ χαλεπούς ἐκριφῆναι. If ὑπὸ ἀντιπν[ο]ι[[ῶν and Μενέλαος in 6 belonged to different clauses, then ὑπὸ ἀντιπν[ο]ι[[ῶν may have been followed e.g. by οὗτος.

10 ]ας τῆς νεώς: ac may be the end of a participle, e.g. καὶ ἀποβ]ας or ἐξορμῆς]ας τῆς νεώς.

col. ii

'Heracles . . . altar? . . . came . . . burn'

The sequence ηρακλ[ in 4 and the expected alphabetical proximity with the play summarised in col. i (*Helen*) suggest the identification of these lines with a hypothesis of *Heracles* or *Heraclidae*, but a mention of Heracles is also compatible with the satyr play *Eurystheus*. In the first two cases, the sequence βω [ in 5 may belong to the word βωμός, which occurs in both tragedies to indicate the place in which Heracles's family and Iolaos with the Heraclidae have taken refuge respectively (*HF* 49, *Heracl.* 61, 73, etc.). The verb καταθαλόω, 'burn to ashes', might have occurred divided between 6 and 7 (κα[[ταῖθα[λ-). In this case, the diaeresis would wrongly separate two vowels of a diphthong; on the other hand, word division before iota, e.g. κα[[τὰ Ἰθά[κην, is hard to reconcile with ηρακλ[ in 4. The verb, on the contrary, seems appropriate in a summary of *HF*: in *HF* 238-51 Lycus has decided to kill the children of Heracles, Amphitruo, and Megara while Heracles is away and believed to be dead. In preparation for the execution he orders his servants to procure and pile wood for the altar, set fire to it, and burn them all alive (244-5 κάκπυροῦτε σώματα πάντων). There is no overlap with the *Heracles* hypothesis known from 5284 and the mediaeval transmission, which preserve only the first part of the summary. Noticeably, in that summary the place where Megara, Amphitruo, and Heracles' children are sitting as suppliants is called ἐστία (5284 fr. 1 28), not βωμός.

6-7 A possible supplement would be (scil. Λύκος) παρεγέ[νετο καὶ διέγνων (Mastronarde, cf. *hyp. Dict.* fr. 1+2 iii 9) or ἐκρινεν κα[[ταιθα[λοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ βω[[μοῦ.

C. MECCARIELLO

#### 5284. HYPOTHESES OF EURIPIDES' *HERACLES* AND OTHER PLAYS

46 5b48/E(3)a+b

fr. 1 10.4 × 18.8 cm

Second century  
Plate XI

Two fragments of papyrus written across the fibres. Fr. 1 contains an entire column of 29 lines, with extant upper and lower margins of 1.3 and 2.6 cm respectively, and a blank space up to 5 cm on the right, which is likely to include both the intercolumnium and vanished line beginnings of the following column. Fr. 2 contains scant remains of the last 14 and 18 lines of two columns with a narrow intercolumnium.

The back of fr. 1 is almost blank except for a few signs at mid height on the



right edge, seemingly the remains of an account. Other traces of ink are visible on the same edge about 4 cm below. The back of fr. 2 bears remains of what seems to be an account of expenses, penned in a documentary hand datable to the second century, and has a blank space on the right in the upper half. The scant letters on the back of fr. 1 are not likely to be related to the account of fr. 2, nor does their handwriting seem the same; this and the blank spaces in both fragments suggest that either the back of the roll was used by two different hands or the roll was the result of the conflation of different, already used pieces of papyrus.

The unity of the roll is assured by the handwriting of the hypotheses, which is unmistakably one and the same, although the scribe seems to have used a less sharp pen to write fr. 2. Moreover, the surface of both fragments has suffered significant damage and shows signs of faded ink and detached fibres (especially fr. 1 14–26 and fr. 2 ii 7–18).

The hand that wrote the hypotheses across the fibres is a fairly sized round one, informal but not unattractive, bilinear in its effect. Most letters are clearly distinct and well spaced; others are very close to each other or even touch, but there are no proper ligatures. One notable feature of 5284 is the shape of ε, whose middle stroke, detached from the rest of the letter, sometimes touches the end of the upper curve. The latter feature is shared with XXVI 2441 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 22), a Pindar assigned to the mid second century, and P. Berol. inv. 9810 = BKT V.2, pp. 6–8 (Schubart, *PGB* no. 29b), a second century Alcaeus. These two papyri, though displaying a higher degree of formality, also show a similar V-shaped γ, and comparable λ and Δ with top protruding above the vertex. A further comparandum for these features is P. Lit. Lond. 132 (Robert, *GLH* no. 13b), assigned to the first half of the second century. On these grounds I am inclined to date the handwriting of 5284 to the mid second century.

The papyrus shows no punctuation or lectional signs, and has a iotacistic spelling (fr. 1 19), compounds without assimilation of the final nasal of the preposition (fr. 1 8, 29; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 108), two supralinear additions (above fr. 1 1 and 22), probably correcting the text below, and a few instances of wrong syllable division (fr. 1 16–17 ἐκπονής|[ων, 17–18 πει]ργενηθ|[εις, 18–19 κατήλθ|[εν, 19–20 δια]τρειψ|[ας; fr. 2 ii 3–4 Μ|[εινώ]ταυρ|[ον, 4–5 ἀπέκτ|[εινε, 6–7 Δαϊδάλλ|[ου, 12–13 εὐσεβ|[ῆ, 13–14 ζ|[ευ]χθείς, 15–16 Μείν|[ως, 17–18 Μείν|[ω]ταύρο[υ]. The closest parallel for systematic wrong syllable division is offered by P. Mich. inv. 1315 (A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 23–30, first/second century), containing hypotheses of the books 10 to 17 of the *Iliad*.

The layout of the columns does not seem homogeneous. In fr. 1 the right-hand margin is not even and runs more on the left in the higher part of the column (*Electra* hypothesis) than in the central and lower parts (*Heracles* hypothesis). A possible explanation of this difference is that the scribe obtained a longer line when writing the heading of the *Heracles* hypothesis, in particular the sequence Ἡρακλῆς

οὐδ' ἀρχή (7) in *ekthesis* and on a single line. The scribe seems to have continued writing lines of this new length for the whole *Heracles* hypothesis, perhaps going back to shorter ones in either the next column or the following hypothesis. Accordingly, the number of letters per line oscillates between 19 and 25 in the *Heracles* hypothesis (with an average of about 21), while the end of the *Electra* hypothesis in fr. 1 and the *Theseus* hypothesis in fr. 2 had probably about 15–16 letters per line on average. For a similar variation we can compare XXVII 2457 + LII 3650, also containing Euripidean hypotheses, with oscillation between 25 and 34 letters per line in the *Alexandros* hypothesis, and between 31 and 40 in the *Aeolus* hypothesis.

The number of letters per line in 5284 is relatively low compared to most of the papyri containing tragic hypotheses. The closest examples are P. Mich. inv. 6020a (W. Luppe, *ZPE* 176 (2011) 52–5, containing hypotheses of Euripides' *Palamedes* and *Polyidus*: here we can safely reconstruct a length of 20 to 22 letters for i 2–4, almost entirely preserved) and XLII 3013 (hypothesis of Sophocles' *Tereus*, with about 24 letters per line). There are examples of shorter lines among papyri containing comic hypotheses, such as IV 663 (hypothesis of Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, with an average of 16 letters per line in col. i and of 20 in col. ii) and X 1235 (hypotheses of Menander's plays, with about 20 letters per line).

The narrative hypotheses contained in 5284 belong to the alphabetical collection of summaries of the Euripidean plots known from several other papyri and the mediaeval manuscripts of Euripides (see 5283–5285 introd.): the same *Heracles* hypothesis of fr. 1 is partially known from the mediaeval tradition (while there is no overlap with 5283 fr. 3), and the *Theseus* hypothesis of fr. 2 overlaps with LXVIII 4640 i 2–8.

The usual heading including title and first line of the play is preserved before the *Heracles* hypothesis. The likely identification of the preceding summary with a hypothesis of *Electra* (see fr. 1.1–6 n.) is consistent with the usual alphabetical arrangement of the collection, which also suggests that fr. 1 and fr. 2 were not far from each other in the roll.

The text of the *Heracles* hypothesis is here supplied according to Diggle's *OCT*. It diverges from that of the mediaeval tradition (represented by L and P, the latter commonly but not unanimously considered a copy of the former for the alphabetical plays) only in minor points (see fr. 1 17–18 n., 22–3 n., 23–4 n.). In the mediaeval manuscripts the hypothesis is incomplete and stops after *κατήγαγον*, whose first letters can be read in 5284 fr. 1 24. Here the summary is incomplete as well, but contains a few more lines (25–9).

The relationship between 5284 and 4640 for the *Theseus* hypothesis is more difficult to evaluate owing to the very fragmentary state of the former, but the phrasing in many instances is exactly the same.

Fr. 1

] . <sup>α</sup>σεχτης  
 ] . [ . ] . ωνοσεε  
 ] δεμητεραπα  
 ] ηθεισαν προς  
 5 ] ε τρανκατε  
 ] εν  
 ] ηρακλης . υαρ . [ .  
 ] διο . συνλεκτ . ο .  
 ] . υβροτ . . .  
 10 ] . . . [ . . . ] ε  
 ] ημ . ε . [ . . . ] . . α . .  
 ] οντο . . . . . [ . . ] εξ . . [ .  
 ] εννης . νκατ . λιπ . [ .  
 ] ουσεντ . [ . ] εθ . . α . . .  
 15 ] αργος ηλθενε . ρυε  
 ] . υσα [ . . ] [ c.3 ] . κπονη .  
 ] . ντω [ . . ] [ . . ] . γενη .  
 ] . . [ . . ] [ . . ] [ . . ] [ c.6 ] . α . ηλθ  
 ] . [ . . ] [ c.8 ] ατ . ειψ  
 20 ] χ . . [ c.6 ] . . α . λιπε  
 ] ρ [ . . ] ο [ . . ] ζ [ c.4 ] . . . . ιητε  
 ] . . η . . . [ c.6 ] . . . . ε . δ . . . .  
 ] βα . . [ c.4 ] . . [ . . ] . α . την  
 ] . κ [ c.12 ] . ασκα . . [ . . ]  
 25 ] [ . . . . ] . . . . [ . . ] [ . . ] . υ . . . .  
 ] . ο [ . . . . ] ν . . . μ . ιτρυω . κ . [ . . ]  
 ] εγα . . . κ . . . ουσηρακλεου . [ . . ]  
 ] δασηναγ . ασεινησεστι . [ . . ]  
 ] ετασγενεε . αιουκλει . [ . . ]

1 ] . , foot of upright, likely 1 . . . . εε, supralinear addition in a smaller and more cursive hand: first, upper horizontal and dot below suggesting foot of upright; second, upright with long curved stroke touching following letter at mid height, resembling cursive ε; middle dot between ε and ε, perhaps for distinction, but the dot may also be part of the right end of ε; ε written in lighter ink faded ink above τ? above η, short upright above ε, three consecutive separate signs not belonging to any letter (dot, short upright, short descending oblique) after ε speck towards the top of the line not belonging to a letter 2 ] . [ , bottom of round letter ] ω, foot of upright and remains of curved stroke, suggesting π 5 , lower half of upright 7 ε , left-hand arc ] , diagonal ascending from left to right 8 ε , short stroke descending from left to right in lower

part of the line  $\sigma$ , remains of upper curve and short horizontal below; two dots high on the line, 2 mm far from each other, and two spots on the left at line level  $\rho$ , end of horizontal high on the line  $\rho$ , first, top of curved stroke; second, very tiny trace at edge roughly at mid height  $\sigma$ , foot of descending oblique; lower part of round letter; bottom of curved stroke  $\mu$ , thin ascending oblique and mid-height dot followed by dot at baseline  $\epsilon$ , diagonal ascending from left to right and ending with a leftwards hook  $\alpha$ , dot at baseline; foot of upright with remains of loop to its left in upper part of writing space; upright and beginning of descending oblique  $\xi$ , spots of ink  $\xi$ , remains of ascending oblique stroke and short horizontal on the left at baseline; spots of ink  $\nu$ , end of middle horizontal and dot high on the line  $\lambda$ , foot of descending oblique  $\pi$ , spots of ink at mid height  $\tau$ , speck at mid height  $\theta$ , upright; remains of two parallel horizontals, one at baseline and one on top, with spots of ink in the middle  $\alpha$ , remains of upright; dot at mid height; dot towards the top of the line  $\nu$ , lower part of upright and very faded group of stains roughly at mid height on its left  $\nu$ , small vertical stroke in lower part of writing space  $\kappa$ , tiny trace at line-level  $\kappa$ , round letter with dot in the middle ( $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ )  $\eta$ , left part of round letter  $\nu$ , dot at line level  $\nu$ , first, junction of two not entirely surviving strokes, one a diagonal descending from left to right, the other possibly a horizontal; second, scanty traces in upper part of writing space suggesting top of ascender or left-hand arc  $\nu$ , very tiny traces in vertical alignment; 1 mm further a tiny trace at mid height  $\nu$ , tiny traces in vertical alignment at mid height and in lower part of writing space  $\eta$ , tiny remains of round letter  $\nu$ , mid-height horizontal parallel to end of slightly curved stroke at baseline; short high horizontal forming a right angle with following upright; extremely tiny trace in upper part of writing space very close to following letter; two consecutive uprights with feet slightly curving leftwards and rightwards respectively, and remains of high horizontal connecting them ( $\pi$ ?); remains of curved stroke; remains of two consecutive uprights with feet curving rightwards  $\nu$ , very scanty traces suggest round letter  $\nu$ , ascending oblique on the upper part of the line and descending oblique on the lower (right part of  $\kappa$  or  $\chi$ ?)  $\alpha$ , scanty remains of high crossbar whose middle is in vertical alignment with tiny trace at line level  $\nu$ , slightly triangular loop and foot of oblique ( $\lambda$ ?); tiny dots very close to each other almost in horizontal alignment at edge; two tiny traces at top line, 1 mm distant from each other  $\epsilon$ , speck in the middle of the line and remains of small upper loop ( $\rho$ ?)  $\chi$ , foot of upright descending below line-level?; two short parallel diagonal strokes, ascending from left to right, very close to each other, in upper part of writing space  $\alpha$ , two traces in upper part of writing space, 1 mm distant from each other; faded remains of upright  $\nu$ , faded horizontal stroke high on the line and descender ( $\pi$ ?); short vertical stroke and end of curved stroke high on the line connected to very short horizontal  $\sigma$ , papyrus badly damaged: very tiny trace at edge roughly at mid height  $\nu$ , top of upright in roughly vertical alignment with short curving diagonal stroke at line level, probably belonging to the same stroke, followed by end of descending oblique connected to upright ( $\nu$ ?); remains of left-hand arc; spots of ink; remains of round letter  $\eta$ , small loop at line level, with upright very high on the line probably belonging to a supralinear correction; lower part of upright or ascender. The supralinear  $\eta$  may be a correction of one or both of these letters ( $\lambda$ ?)  $\nu$ , remains of upright followed by remains of lower descender, altogether suggesting  $\kappa$ ; foot of descending oblique and dot at edge; top of round letter and dot at baseline  $\nu$ , end of descending oblique; remains of lower loop and diagonal ( $\lambda$ ?); top of upright and beginning of descending oblique; dot high on the line  $\epsilon$ , round letter  $\delta$ , left-hand arc; upright, most probably  $\iota$ ; two spots, one high on the line and one at mid height in oblique alignment; dot at line level  $\alpha$ , remains of upright; left-hand arc  $\nu$ , two traces in upper part of writing space suggest upper part of right-hand arc; remains of lower part of upright  $\nu$ , upright  $\alpha$ , top of round letter ( $\epsilon$  or, less likely,  $\epsilon$ )  $\kappa$ , end of ascending oblique  $\alpha\kappa\alpha$ , foot of upright with slightly curved end; high horizontal; tops of two consecutive uprights  $\nu$ , end of horizontal at mid height  $\nu$ , first, tiny traces at mid height very

close to each other; second, foot of upright, end of descending oblique and spots high on the line as of upright, altogether compatible with  $\kappa$ ; third, spots high on the line; fourth, trace of small loop at line level, suggesting  $\lambda$  ] . . [ , three spots in roughly vertical alignment; two traces at baseline in horizontal alignment ] .  $\nu$  . . . . , dot high on the line; lower part of left-hand arc; dot high on the line; spots of ink at baseline, compatible with remains of curved stroke; curved stroke 26 ]  $\sigma$  , foot of upright; oblique trace at edge, either the extremity of a descender or trace belonging to the lower part of a left-hand arc  $\nu$  . . . . , small circle or loop at baseline suggesting  $\lambda$ ; remains of round letter; slightly curved stroke at baseline  $\mu$  , three dots at mid height in horizontal alignment, dot below the line in vertical alignment with the central dot of the upper series, and remains of curved or oblique stroke in lower right-hand part of writing space  $\omega$  , dot at baseline and spots above; spots of ink suggesting triangular letter  $\kappa$  [ , spots of ink high on the line 27  $\alpha$  , upright . .  $\kappa$  . . . . spot low on the line; short slightly diagonal trace ascending from left to right connected to small descender, followed by upright; after  $\kappa$ : short ascending oblique; dot at baseline; end of horizontal high on the line  $\nu$  [ , dot at mid height and short horizontal stroke high on the line 28  $\gamma$  , foot of upright and the extremities of two diagonal strokes, an ascender and a descender [ , spots of ink 29  $\alpha$ , round letter ( $\omicron$ ,  $\varsigma$ ,  $\theta$ ) [ ,  $\varsigma$  or  $\omicron$

Fr. 2

col. i

col. ii

5 ] . [ ] ο φ . ] . . . ] ω ν ] ο ς α ] ε θ ο ] τ ο υ ς ] . ι . . υ ς ] . ο ς ] . . . ν ] . α [ ] . ] . ν ] . . . ] . .

. . . . ] . . [ ] ν . [ . . [ ] λ α [ ] υ ρ [ ι ν ω τ α υ ] ε ι ν ε κ α [ . ν ε . . ρ . [ ο υ β ο . . . [ . . . . [ ] . [ ] τ . . α θ η [ τ . υ β α . . . [ α . . α δ ν [ γ . . . ι ω . [ φ ι λ ο [ ε υ χ θ ε ι . [ ο υ κ α π ο [ ] . ς . . τ . [ . . ] . [ ] . [ ] . α . ρ ρ [

col. i

5 short vertical trace on a thread-like and detached piece of papyrus 6 , very scanty traces in an area of damaged fibres 7 ] . . . , junction of upright and horizontal stroke and possibly foot of the upright ( $\tau$ ); remains of curved stroke ( $\omega$ ); long upright with remains of upper loop

on the right (p?) 8 thin oblique stroke on right lobe of  $\omega$  touching the following letter:  $\omega$  has been cancelled or corrected? 12 ] , remains of descending oblique high on the line, and end of horizontal below, at mid height ( $\epsilon$ ?)  $\epsilon$  , first, two dots in vertical alignment lying respectively at line level and at top height, suggesting the extremities of a left-hand arc; second, round letter, plausibly  $\circ$  13 ] ,  $\theta$  or  $\epsilon$  14 ] , , junction of short upright and descending oblique (of  $\lambda$ ?) touching the following letter; horizontal high on the line; end of letter in ligature with following  $\nu$ ? 15 ]  $\alpha$  [ ] , remains of triangular letter ( $\Delta$ ?); two traces in slightly diagonal alignment ascending from left to right, lying respectively at line-level and in upper part of writing space 16 ] , remains of round letter? 18 ] , , round letter and then very high speck

col. ii

1 ] [ , horizontal stroke connected to slightly curved upright, suggesting  $\mu$ ; tiny horizontal or curved stroke at line level 2 [ , round letter ( $\circ$  or  $\epsilon$ ) 3 [ , remains of oblique stroke ascending from left to right; slightly curved vertical stroke 4 [ , very scanty remains of top of round letter [ , foot of upright 6  $\nu$  , top of triangular letter  $\epsilon$  , left part of round letter; single letter consisting of upright and upper horizontal,  $\tau$  or  $\Gamma$   $\rho$  [ , left-hand top of round letter 7  $\sigma$  , scanty remains of lower part of upright apparently joining at mid height with partially preserved horizontal [ , tiny strokes as of round letter with dot in the middle; remains of upright at edge 8 [ , first, two divergent oblique strokes ( $\kappa$  or  $\chi$ ?); second, three consecutive specks at mid height altogether compatible with  $\lambda$ ; third, remains of upright; fourth, upright joining horizontal, suggesting square letter like  $\Gamma$  or  $\pi$ ; fifth, short diagonal at mid height, ascending from left to right [ ] , remains of upright 9  $\tau$  , , traces of two small round letters, possibly  $\circ\epsilon$   $\eta$  , remains of upright 10  $\tau$  , spots  $\alpha$  [ , first, tiny vertical stroke and dot in horizontal alignment with its top; second, remains of upright; third, tiny trace towards baseline 11  $\alpha$  , , upright with thick top protruding below line level; remains of upright 12  $\chi$  , , curved stroke; dot high on the line; spots in upper part of writing space followed by speck at mid height and remains of vertical stroke on the right  $\omega$  [ , speck 13  $\phi$  , scanty traces on damaged fibres roughly in vertical alignment and horizontal at mid height 14 [ , two traces, one high on the line and one below, towards baseline, compatible with remains of upright 15 [ , thick foot of upright at edge 16 ]  $\epsilon$  , end of ascending oblique, curve and upright, strongly suggesting  $\omega$  [ ]  $\tau$  , , remains of triangular letter ( $\Delta$ ?); top of round letter, short horizontal at mid height and trace just below; after  $\tau$  lower part of upright joining with remains of horizontal? 17 ] [ ] [ , very tiny spots; spots in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right, connected to horizontally curved stroke 18 ]  $\alpha$  , thick roughly vertical stroke, then small descending oblique and remains of upright; end of horizontal touching the following  $\alpha$ ; after  $\alpha$  dot high on the line

Fr. 1

c.8 ] .  $\epsilon\chi\tau\eta\sigma$   
 c.6 ]  $\epsilon$  [  $\iota$  ]  $\pi\omega\upsilon\upsilon\sigma$   $\delta\sigma$   $\epsilon\sigma$ -  
 $\tau\iota$ ,  $\tau\eta\nu$ ]  $\delta\epsilon$   $\mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$   $\pi\alpha$ -  
 $\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$ ]  $\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$   $\pi\rho\delta$   
 5  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\text{Ἡλ}[\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\alpha\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ -  
 $\sigma\phi\alpha\xi$ ]  $\epsilon\nu$ .  
 ]  $\text{Ἡρακλῆς}$   $\sigma\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ [ $\eta$   
 $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\nu\upsilon$ ]  $\Delta\iota\delta$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\upsilon$   
 $\sigma\upsilon\kappa$   $\sigma\iota\delta$ ]  $\epsilon\nu$   $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\omega\upsilon$ ;

10 ἡ δ' ὕ]πόθ[εσι]ς·  
 Ἡρακλῆς γ]ήμας Μ[εγ]άραν  
 τὴν Κρέ]οντος παῖδ[ας] ἐξ αὐ-  
 τῆς ἐγ]έννησεν. καταλιπὼν  
 δὲ τούτ]ους ἐν τα[ί]ς Θῆβαις αὐ-  
 15 τὸς εἰς] Ἄργος ἦλθεν Εὐρυς-  
 θεὶ τ]οὺς ἄ[θ]λ[ους] ἐκπονήσ-  
 ων. π]άντω[ν] δὲ [πε]ριγενηθ-  
 εἰς] ἐπ[ί] π[ᾶ]σι εἰς Ἄιδου] κατῆλθ-  
 εν κ]α[ί] π[ο]λὺν ἐκεῖ δι]ατρεΐψ-  
 20 ας] χρό[νον] δόξ]αν ἀπέλιπε  
 πα]ρ[ὰ] το[ί]ς ζ[ώ]σιν ὡς εἶη τε-  
 . . . ἡκῶς· [στασιά]σαντες δ' οἱ ἐν  
 Θῆ]βαις [πρὸς τ]ὸν [δυ]νάστην  
 Λ]ύκ[ον ἐκ τῆς Εὐβο]ίας κατή[  
 25 . . .] . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . ν . . . .  
 . . . ο . [ . . . ] ν . . Ἀμφιτρύωνα κ . [  
 Μ]εγάραν καὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους  
 παῖ]δας ἠνάγκασεν τῆς ἐστία[ς  
 ἰκ]έτας γενέσθαι. συνκλει . [

‘ . . . by revealing his identity (?), and killed his mother once she arrived at Electra's place.

‘Heracles, whose first line is “Who among mortals does not know the man who shared his bed with Zeus?”, and this is the plot:

‘Heracles, having married Megara, the daughter of Creon, had children from her. Having left them in Thebes, he went to Argos in order to accomplish the labours for Eurystheus. After succeeding in all of them, he finally descended to Hades and spent a long time there, leaving the living persons with the impression that he was dead. When the inhabitants of Thebes rose up against the ruler, they repatriated Lycus from Euboea . . . (Lycus?) forced Amphitryon, Megara and the children of Heracles to become suppliants at the altar . . .’

Fr. 1

1-6 The identification of these lines with the end of a hypothesis of *Electra* is suggested by the plausible sequence *εκτραν* in 5. The word *μητέρα* in 3 also suits the plot of this play. The mediaeval manuscripts do not preserve a hypothesis of Euripides' *Electra*, but III 420, dated to the third century, preserves a retelling of vv. 357-84 of the play. This could be part of a hypothesis but is much more detailed and rhetorically elaborate than the other extant narrative hypotheses, and it is uncertain whether it was ever included in the known collection (Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 15 n. 6; Meccariello, *Le ipotesi narrative* 192-4). If 420 was part of a collection of narrative hypotheses, as W. Luppe argues (*Philologus* 125 (1981) 181-7), then it may belong to the same summary whose final lines are preserved in 5284. In this case the high level of detail of the summary in 420 might account for the unusual brevity of the portion in 5284, which seems to omit the *deus ex machina* scene (see 3-4 n.).

1 The function of the supralinear addition is unclear. The sequence may be read as  $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ , and if inserted in the line after the first readable  $\epsilon$  could be a form of  $\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$  (the latter may be here used in the sense of 'attacked', to describe Orestes' attack against Aegisthus). The omission would thus be explained as *saut du même au même* (from  $\epsilon\epsilon$  to  $\tau\epsilon$ ). However, it is hard to make sense of the following sequence in the line, apparently  $\chi\tau\eta\varsigma$ . Since  $\chi\tau$  cannot be right, we need to assume either an orthographical mistake, e.g.  $\chi$  for  $\kappa$  (for confusion of aspirated and voiceless stops in Greek papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 86–96), or another copying error, e.g.  $\tau$  for  $\rho$ : faint traces of ink above  $\tau$  may even suggest an attempted emendation. A light correction may restore a form of  $\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  or  $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota/\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , but, though the latter may be appropriate to indicate the oracle of Apollo that prescribed Orestes' vengeance, neither seems particularly appropriate to a retelling of the last part of the *Electra*. Further, the traces of ink above the final  $\eta\varsigma$  of the line, and perhaps also above the preceding  $\tau$ , may indicate deletion and point to a wider correction. If the supralinear sequence is read as  $\tau\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ , a possible scenario is that the combination of this addition and the final deletion dots is meant to indicate the inversion of the order  $\epsilon\chi\tau\eta\varsigma$  below: the supralinear  $\tau\eta\epsilon$  should thus be inserted in the line below immediately before  $\epsilon$ , the  $\epsilon$  in lighter ink just marking the position of the letters to be added; while the sequence  $\tau\eta\epsilon$  at the end of the line should be deleted. In this case, the hypothesis *post correctionem* would read ]  $\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\epsilon\chi$ . In a retelling of Aegisthus' murder  $\tau\eta\epsilon\epsilon\chi$  might be part of  $\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\chi\lvert\lvert\theta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  (see 2 n.), while the initial trace before  $\epsilon$ , the foot of an upright, excludes  $\epsilon$  and the obvious  $\lvert\lvert\theta\rho\lvert\lvert\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ .

2 The plausible  $\epsilon\lvert\lvert\tau\eta\omega\acute{\nu}$  (or a compound)  $\delta\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  could refer to how Orestes avoids being attacked by Aegisthus' servants immediately after the murder (i.e. by revealing that he is Agamemnon's son: see *El.* 844–53). With the reading of l. 1 tentatively suggested in the previous note, a solution for 1–2 could thus be (sc. Orestes)  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\chi\lvert\lvert\theta\rho\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\tau\eta\omega\acute{\nu} \delta\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  ('having overcome the enmity by revealing his identity'). With  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$  before  $\epsilon\lvert\lvert\tau\eta\omega\acute{\nu}$ , the reference would be to how Orestes gets the opportunity to take part in Aegisthus' sacrifice *incognito* (774–96: cf. *hyp. Scyri* PSI 1286 fr. A ii 45–6  $\acute{\alpha}\lvert\lvert\gamma\nu\omicron\lvert\lvert\omicron\upsilon\mu\lvert\lvert\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ ), but the possible  $\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\chi\lvert\lvert\theta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  would be more difficult to explain in this case.

3–4 Euripides' *Electra* ends with the appearance of the Dioscuri *ex machina*, but the extant portion of the hypothesis seems better compatible with a retelling of Clytemnestra's murder. The matricide takes place in Electra's house, where Clytemnestra is summoned with the pretence that Electra has recently given birth. A likely restoration in 3–4 is  $\pi\alpha\lvert\lvert\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\lvert\lvert\eta\theta\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\alpha\nu$ . The participle  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma/\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\alpha\iota\varsigma$  is very common in the narrative hypotheses, where it is usually found in the nominative: for the accusative cf. *hyp. Alex.* LII 3650 25–6  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron\nu \text{ Ἀλέξανδρον}$ . For the phrase  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\iota\nu\alpha$  cf. for example Plb. 21.26.1  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\omicron\nu \epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , D.S. 4.11.3  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \text{ Εὐρυκθέα}$ . An alternative supplement might be  $\pi\alpha\lvert\lvert\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\lvert\lvert\eta\theta\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\alpha\nu$  or, better for the space, a double compound such as  $\pi\alpha\lvert\lvert\rho\epsilon\lvert\lvert\kappa\lambda\lvert\lvert\eta\theta\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\alpha\nu$  (attested only in Nicetas Choniates, *or.* 4, p. 30 Van Dielen, with the meaning of 'inviting (to enjoy a banquet)'). Verbs with multiple preverbs are commonly used in narrative hypotheses: see for example  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\lvert\lvert\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron$  *hyp. Hipp.* II 1. 4 Diggle,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lvert\lvert\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  *hyp. Hipp.* II 1. 13 Diggle,  $\epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lvert\lvert\omicron\chi\lvert\lvert\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma\alpha\nu$  *hyp. Temenidae* P. Mich. inv. 1319 2–3, and probably  $\pi\rho\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\pi\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\phi\lvert\lvert\alpha\lvert\lvert\epsilon\nu$  in *hyp. Phoe.* XXVII 2455, fr. 17.4 3. See also  $\epsilon\pi\lvert\lvert\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\lvert\lvert$  in *hyp. Crat. Dionysalex.* IV 663 39. The verb  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  with  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is used for an invitation in Theophr. *Charact.* 5.3.1, D.S. 19.2.6, and more abstractly Plb. 5.22.10 and 4.82.4. Yet in all the instances of this construction with a proper name (with the meaning of 'inviting, summoning to someone's place'), a verb of movement is found too: see for example Sor. *Vita Hipp.* 5  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\acute{\iota}\alpha \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\lvert\lvert\epsilon\nu$ .

The lack of references to the exodus of the play is surprising, since final divine appearances are regularly included in the extant narrative hypotheses: cf. the final lines of the summaries of *Andromache*, *Bacchae* (but probably not the summary in 5283), *Hippolytus II*, *Orestes*, *Rhesus*, *Rhadamanthys*. Only the mediaeval hypothesis of the *Helen* does not record the appearance of the Dioscuri *ex machina*, but this hypothesis is a peculiar Byzantine compilation combining a discussion of mythical variants and a brief plot summary, the latter being either a Byzantine product or the abridgment of a narrative hypothesis. Nevertheless, we would need a more solid ground to embrace Nauck's view, accord-



ing to which the Dioscuri scene in Euripides' *Electra* (1233–359) is spurious (A. Nauck, *De tragicorum Graecorum fragmentis observ. crit.* (1855) 8–9). As Mastronarde points out, the omission of the *ex machina* scene in the summary could be explained by the fact that the Dioscuri do not contribute anything to the plot of the play in terms of action or revelation of the truth.

7 Luppe's thesis (e.g. *ZPE* 26 (1977) 59–63 and *APF* 54 (2008) 161–6) that Euripides wrote two different *Heracles* is not confirmed by this papyrus. The title of the play is here recorded as *HPA-KAHC*, and there are no numbers or other specifications after the title to suggest that this is one of two homonymous plays (contrast *Φρι[ξ]ος πρώτος* and *Φριξος δευτέρος* in XXVII 2455, fr. 14.3 and 17.2 respectively and perhaps *Αυτόλυκος α[']* in P. Vindob. G. 19766: a discussion of these and more examples in D. Colomo, *ZPE* 176 (2011) 47–8). The small blank space before the title assures us that a numeral was not prefixed to it either.

12 *ἐγ]έννησεν: ἐγέννησε* ( ) Wilamowitz, Diggle. Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (1875) 186, argued from *sch. Pi. Isthm.* 4.104 *καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (sc. τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἐκ Μεγάρων παίδων) δὲ διαλλάττουσι: Διονύσιος μὲν ἐν πρώτῳ Κύκλων Θηρίμαχον καὶ Δηϊκόωντα, Εὐριπίδης δὲ προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστόδημον* that the names of Heracles' sons, not recorded in the tragedy, originally appeared in the hypothesis. Yet there is no space for them or for a numeric indication on the papyrus, neither in this position nor in other points of the sentence. The number of Heracles' sons is clear from the text of the play (see for example 474) and the scholium, whose focus is on the number, may have derived the names from other sources.

17–18 *[πε]ριγενηθ[ε]ις: περιγενομένος* MSS. The same variance between the passive and middle form of the participle can be observed in the *Rhesus* hypothesis, where all the mediaeval manuscripts read *παραγενομένου* (l. 15 Diggle), while PSI 1286 fr. A i 12 reads *παραγενηθέντος*. The form *περιγενηθῆ* is probably attested in *hyp. Med.* (b) ll. 13–14 Diggle (P. IFAO inv. P.S.P. 248).

19–20 *δι]ατρεῖψ[ι]α: l. διατρίψας*.

21 *ζ[ωει]ν*, here supplied e.g. with the mediaeval manuscripts, may be too short. *ζ[ωει]ν*, with iotacism, is a plausible iotacistic spelling (cf. 19–20 *διατρίψας*) and would suit the space. The same mistake is found in PSI 240 fr. A 5, a second-century will.

21–2 *τε[ ]... ἠκώς: τεθνηκώς* MSS. In the papyrus the participle is likely to result from correction, but the original reading is unclear.

22–3 *οἱ ἐν | [Θή]βαις: οἱ Θηβαῖοι* MSS.

23–4 The manuscripts preserve the name *Κρέοντα* after *δυναστήν*. In the previous lines Creon is mentioned as Megara's father but there is no reference to his status. This piece of information is required for a reader with no previous acquaintance with the myth, since Lycus' persecution of Megara and her children is due to their kinship with Creon, the king whom Lycus has deposed and killed. The papyrus might have accidentally omitted the name.

24 *κατή[ ]: κατήγαγον* MSS. Considering the expected line length, the word should be divided between 24 and 25, but we cannot exclude that it was entirely in 24, perhaps with the final letters written in a smaller size. The first visible trace in 25 is the end of a horizontal stroke at mid height, not compatible with the upper horizontal of *γ*, and there seems to be space for no more than two letters before. Therefore, if the word *κατήγαγον* was in the papyrus, as plausible, it was either entirely written in 24, or divided between 24 and 25 in an irregular way (*κατήγαγ|ον*).

25–6 A reference to Creon's murder (*HF* 33) and Lycus' persecution of his descendants is expected, since in what follows the hypothesis retells the contents of *HF* 44–8, where Amphitryon explains that he is sitting as a suppliant at the altar of Zeus together with Megara in order to protect Heracles' sons from Lycus.

26 The specks after the final *κ* may be the remains of the upper part of a single letter or traces of two letters written in a smaller size high on the line. Unless the final letters were smaller, *καί* seems slightly too long for the expected line length. The incorrect syllable division observed elsewhere in this papyrus could suggest an otherwise unacceptable *κα|ί*.

28-9 For τῆς ἐστία[ς] | [ίκ]έτας γενέσθαι, cf. Plut. *Marc. Cor.* 23.6 γέγονα τῆς ἐστίας ἰκέτης.

29 συγκλεί : a passive form of συγκλείω, 'shut', perhaps συγκλείς[θέντες, συγκλείς[θέντων or συγκλείο[μενοι, συγκλείο[μένων, might have been used in a figurative sense (LSJ A2) as in Plb. 2.60.4 ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν συγκλειόμενος, 11.20.7 συγκλειόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων. The verb might here refer to the hopeless situation of the suppliants as described by Lycus in *HF* 143-6. It is this hopeless situation that finally persuades them to surrender to the tyrant: see particularly *HF* 326 (spoken by Amphitryon) οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν. The hypothesis might then have registered the sudden appearance of Heracles when the children are about to be killed (*HF* 514 ff.).

## Fr. 2 col. ii

]...[

παίδω]ν ἐ[ίσαχθεῖς εἰς τ-  
 ὄν λα[β]ύ[ρινον τὸν Μ-  
 εινώταυρ[ον ἀπέκτ-  
 5 εινε κα[ὶ] ῥαδίως πάλιν  
 ἀνέστρε[ψεν Δαιδάλ-  
 ου βοηθή[σαντος αὐτῷ  
 .....[.] [ c.8  
 τ... Ἀθην[αῖος καὶ τῆς  
 10 τοῦ βασιλ[έως c.4  
 Ἀριάδν[ης Θεσεῖ συνα-  
 γωνιώ[ς]ης πρὸς εὐσεβ-  
 ῆ φιλο[ c.8 ζ-  
 ευχθεῖς [διακονεῖν  
 15 οὐκ ἀπόκ[νησεν. Μείν-  
 ως δὲ τῆ[ν ἀπώλειαν  
 αἰς]θ[ό]μ[ενος τοῦ Μειν-  
 ωταύρο[υ

'... having been brought into the labyrinth (with the) boys (Theseus) killed the Minotaur and easily went back with the help of Daedalus . . . Athenian, and since Ariadne, the king's daughter, shared the toil with Theseus, he did not hesitate to serve as an accomplice for the pious friend(?). But Minos, having learned of the loss of the Minotaur . . .'

## Fr. 2 col. i

The extant letters of this column are too few to allow any identification. The text may belong to the same *Theseus* hypothesis preserved in col. ii, or to the end of the preceding hypothesis. The possible length of a narrative hypothesis estimated by W. Luppe (*ZPE* 72 (1988) 30) ranges from 30 to 39 lines of 27-31 letters plus heading, which correspond to 55-71 lines of 16 letters. The comparison with 4640, which only lacks the initial portion of the summary, assures us that in 5284 the *Theseus* hypothesis went on in the next column, now lost, for about 25 lines of 16 letters. On these grounds we can estimate to have lost between 12 and 28 lines of 16 letters before the extant part. Considering

the expected heading of 3 or more plausibly 4 lines and the height of the column in fr. 1 (29 lines), it seems inevitable to conclude that the hypothesis started before col. ii. Since i 5-16 do not show remains of a heading, the *Theseus* hypothesis must have started either in i 17 or 18 (which are almost entirely lost), or before the upper break of that column.

As to the *Heracles* hypothesis in fr. 1, on the grounds of Luppe's calculations we can conclude that, after the extant part, the summary went on for about 29-46 lines of 16 letters each, or 22-35 of 21 letters each. Only about 15 lines are missing before the extant portion of fr. 2 i; if the heading of the *Theseus* hypothesis was at the end of col. i, then it is possible that this column contained the end of the *Heracles* hypothesis, and that the latter only occupied two columns; if the beginning of the *Theseus* hypothesis was in the lost part of col. i, then it is more likely that at least one column is lost between fr. 1 and fr. 2.

In any case, that the *Heracles* hypothesis immediately preceded the *Theseus* hypothesis is possible but not necessary. If the hypothesis of another play was interposed, we expect a title beginning with η or θ. The choice is between *Heraclidae* and *Thyestes*, while the satyr drama *Theristai* is less likely to have been summarized, as it was lost in antiquity (see *TrGF* v.1 425).

## col. ii

Most of the supplements are based on the text of the *Theseus* hypothesis as preserved in LXVIII 4640 i. The line length of that papyrus is not certain, but the average length of about 40-42 letters per line supposed by the first editor, M. Van Rossum-Steenbeek, seems to be confirmed by the relative position of the overlapping sequences in 5284.

1-2 Before εἰσαχθεῖς, 4640 i 1-2 reads ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Κρήτην | [μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων π]αρεγενήθη παίδων (with Diggle's supplement; this is more compatible with the expected line length than his alternative [μετὰ τῶν δις ἑπτὰ]). If the first trace in 5284 2 ii 1 is η, it may belong either to the sequence τὴν Κρήτην or to παρεγενήθη. The line obtained would be too long in the former case, too short in the latter: therefore, we must assume a different word order, other variance, or a different supplement before παρεγενήθη. A rearrangement such as [ἐπεὶ | δὲ παρεγενήθη εἰς τὴν | Κρήτ]ην [μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων] should be considered.

3-4 Μ]εινώταυρ[ον: for the orthography of this name see Kannicht's note on 4640 i 3 in *TrGF* v.1 (29) iiiia.

4-5 [ἀπέκτ]εινε supplemented with 4640 i 3 (ἀπέκτεινεν).

5-6 ῥαδίως πάλιν] | ἀνέστρεψεν: ῥαδί|[ως c.13 ]ν 4640 i 3-4, where we can now supply ῥαδί|[ως πάλιν ἀνέστρεψε]ν rather than Kannicht's ῥαδί|[ως τὴν ἔξοδον ἤϊρε]ν or Van Rossum-Steenbeek's ῥαδί|[ως τὴν ἔξοδον εὔρε]ν/ ῥαδί|[ως εὔρεν τὴν ἔξοδο]ν. The imperfect ἀνέστρεφεν is also possible in both papyri. For πάλιν ἀνέστρεφεν cf. D.S. 2.12.3, 11.8.3, 13.17.2, 20.52.5; Plut. *De isa* 548b; πάλιν ἀπέστρεφον (v.l. ὑπέστρεφον) in *hyp. Rh.* 1. 8 Diggle.

8-9 καὶ γὰρ ε]χ[ένετο αὐ]τὸς Ἀθην[αῖος is a plausible reading and supplement, and can be also accommodated in 4640 i 5 (καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο αὐτ]ὸς Ἀθηναῖος). The restorations proposed for that papyrus, namely Van Rossum-Steenbeek's [τὴν γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖν]ος or [τυγχάνων γὰρ καὶ αὐτ]ὸς and Diggle's [ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐκεῖν]ος, are not entirely compatible with the traces in 5284 ii 8 and 9, but seem close in meaning and wording.

10 At the end of the line θυγατρὸς, supplemented by Van Rossum-Steenbeek in 4640 i 6, is the most satisfactory word for the sense required and is consistent with the typical phrasing of narrative hypotheses. See for example *hyp. Hipp.* II 1. 5-6 Diggle τὴν Μίνω τοῦ Κρητῶν βασιλείως θυγατέρα Φαίδραν and *hyp. Bacch.* 1. 3 Diggle αἱ Κάδμου θυγατέρας. However, θυγατρὸς seems slightly too long here. An alternative might be παιδός (Colomo), which is used for Danae in 5283 fr. 1+2 iv 37, Philomela in XLII 3013 15-16 (Sophocles' *Tereus* hypothesis), although not in the meaning of 'daughter', and perhaps Ino in XXVII 2455 fr. 14.3 10 and I.II 3652 ii 21 (hypothesis of Euripides' *Phrixus I*). κόρη, though used in tragedy as a substitute for θυγάτηρ with the genitive of the father (see for

example Eur. *Andr.* 897, *IT* 2, 1384, *Ion* 1106, *Hel.* 1370), never occurs in this context in the narrative hypotheses.

11-13 *Ἀριάδην[ης]* . . . [εὐσεβ]||ῆ read and restored with **4640** i 6. **5284** confirms Van Rossum-Steenbeek's restoration of the name of Ariadne in **4640**.

13 φίλο[ seems to rule out all the supplements proposed for the beginning of 7 in **4640** (φόνον vel πράξιν e.g. Kannicht). The most obvious supplement is φίλον (indicating Theseus), but a compound such as φιλόξενον cannot be excluded (Theseus' φιλοξενία is mentioned in Plut. *Thes.* 14.3 and 23.5). Kannicht's tentative proposal for the following segment, τῆι φιλίαι ζευχθεῖς, could be close to our author's intentions.

13-14 ζ]||ευχθεῖς: ]υχθεῖς **4640** i 7. Our papyrus excludes Diggle's proposal παρανομίαν εἰς κηρυχθεῖς. The supplement (ἐν) ὄρκωι/ὄρκοις ζευχθεῖς suggested by Van Rossum-Steenbeek on the grounds of Eur. *Suppl.* 1229 τόνδ' ἐν ὄρκοις ζεύξομαι is plausible, while her alternative proposal καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνης ἐν τευχθεῖς is too long. ζευχθεῖς or a compound would appropriately suggest the complicity between Daedalus and Theseus. The verb συζεύγνυμι as the simple ζεύγνυμι can take πρὸς + accusative of what one is yoked to (as in Philo *Belop.* 72, 48 Thevenot συζεύξας πρὸς ἀλλήλους). So my suggestion, largely based on Van Rossum-Steenbeek's, is πρὸς εὐσεβ]||ῆ φίλο[ν (ἐν) ὄρκωι/ὄρκοις συζ]||ευχθεῖς (cf. Meccariello, *Le hypothèses narratives* 210). cὺν ὄρκοις also appears in Apollodorus' account of this myth, but there it refers to Theseus' oath to marry Ariadne in exchange for her help (*Epit.* 1.8a).

15 ἀπόκ]νησεν: l. ἀπώκ]νησεν, cf. Gignac, *Grammat* i 276.

16-18 τῆ[ν ἀπώλειαν | αἰε]θ[ό]μ[ενος τοῦ Μειν]||ωταύρο[ν read and supplemented on the grounds of **4640** i 8-9 τὴν ἀπώλειαν αἰεθόμενος τοῦ Μεινωταύ[ρου], as restored in the *editio princeps*.

C. MECCARIELLO

### 5285. HYPOTHESES OF EURIPIDES' PLAYS (MORE OF XXVII 2455)

102/195(e)

fr. 1 3.5 × 5 cm

Second century  
Plate X

Two small fragments of papyrus written along the fibres. The back is blank. The lower margin seems to be partially preserved in fr. 1, a blank strip 1.2 cm long and only 2.5 mm wide. Part of the left-hand intercolumnium is visible in fr. 1 (0.5 cm), and a large right-hand one is preserved in fr. 2 (2.2 cm).

**5285** stems from the same roll as **XXVII 2455** + P. Strasb. G 2676, the latter first published by J. Schwartz, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 43-4, and identified as part of the same roll as **2455** by H. J. Mette, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 173. The medium-sized handwriting is clearly the same: cf. the irregularly used serifs at the lower end of the vertical strokes (e.g. η and γ in fr. 1 2, ι in fr. 2 2), the oval θ with narrow and almost angular upper part (fr. 1 2), η with upright left-hand vertical and smaller curved right-hand stroke (fr. 1 2), the use of both the rounded and the triangular α (fr. 1 2 and 5), the oblique strokes of Δ projecting beyond its apex (fr. 1 5), γ with very high vertical and slightly curved upper stroke written in one movement (fr. 2 4), the right-angle ligature of ε with ι (fr. 2 2). This regular informal hand has been assigned by Turner, the first editor of **2455**, to the early second century. As palaeographical parallels one may adduce BGU I 140, a document dated to AD 119 (W. Schubart,

PGB no. 22a), and the more formal XIII 1622, a Thucydides whose *terminus ante quem* is AD 148, the date of the document on the back.

5285 fr. 1 2 shows the same usage of the high dot that can be observed throughout 2455. Also, the diaeresis above initial  $\epsilon$  in fr. 1 6 and initial  $\iota$  in fr. 2 2 has several parallels in 2455: see e.g. *hyp. Sthen.* fr. 6a 2, *hyp. Scir.* fr. 6b 8, 11.

The line length of fr. 1 can be safely reconstructed, and it is the same as in the rest of the roll (between 27 and 31 letters with an average of 29–30 according to Turner).

2455 + P. Strasb. G 2676 constitute the largest extant collection of narrative hypotheses of Euripidean plays. They contain summaries of plays whose titles begin with  $\mu$ ,  $\sigma$ , and  $\epsilon$ – $\chi$ , arranged alphabetically. 5285 adds the remains of a summary of *Ion* and perhaps *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and therefore must have preceded the previously published portion of the roll. We should also consider the possibility that the two new fragments belonged to a different roll, written by the same scribe as 2455 according to the same layout, the two rolls being two 'tomoi' of the same collection. If a single roll with this layout contained the whole collection of hypotheses, which covered the entire Euripidean production of c.78 plays extant in Alexandria, then an average of 38 lines per hypothesis (W. Luppe, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 30) and 35 lines per column (W. S. Barrett, *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965) 66 n. 5; some columns will have had only 32/33 lines, since headings occupy more space than three standard lines, but this only produces a marginal difference in the end result), a column width of about 9 cm and an average intercolumnium of 2.5 cm would give a total length of about 9.8 m. This is certainly a possible length, but a subdivision cannot be excluded.

Fr. 1 contains the remains of seven lines of the same *Ion* hypothesis partially preserved in the two mediaeval manuscripts of this play, L (Laur. 32.2) and P (Pal. gr. 287 + Laur. Conv. Soppr. 172, usually but not unanimously considered a copy of L). The text of fr. 2 was hitherto unknown. Assuming that the two fragments come from relatively close parts of the roll, the word  $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$  in 2 and the probable form of  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  (or a compound) in 3 are best compatible with a summary of *Iphigenia in Tauris* (see below).

The relative position of fr. 1 and fr. 2 cannot be established. If fr. 2 followed fr. 1, then it must stem from a different column (on the assumption that fr. 1 preserves the lower margin); if it preceded, then it may belong to the same column, since the portion of text lost at the beginning of the *Ion* hypothesis must have occupied only five lines (see 1 n.). If the identification of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* hypothesis is correct, the order of the fragments would still remain uncertain, since alphabetization in extant lists of plays and collections of hypotheses is always limited to the first letter. In the second century list of Euripidean plays preserved in IG XIV 1152 (*TrGF* v.1 test. B 6), the title *Iphigenia* (written only once, without distinction between *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *in Tauris*) shows iotacistic spelling of the first vowel, and is accordingly included among the plays with initial  $\epsilon$ . In L and P, which include the remains of an

alphabetical edition, *Ion* immediately precedes *Iphigenia in Tauris*, while the numbers Demetrius Triclinius added to the titles of the plays in L, postulating a different order, suggest the sequence *Ἴων – Ἰκέτιδες – Ἰφιγένεια ἢ ἐν Ταύροις* (see A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (1957) 241).

The text of fr. 1 is supplemented according to J. Diggle, *Euripidis fabulae*, ii (1981). The papyrus contains two minor variants involving compound verbs, of a kind quite common in papyrus hypotheses (see fr. 1 5 n. and 6 n.). It is highly plausible that at least in fr. 1 6, where 5285 has ἐξέθρεψ[εν instead of the mediaeval ἀνέθρεψε, the papyrus preserves the original reading.

## Fr. 1

. . . . .

]τ . . . . . [

]θηκετοναυ[

]καιτηςλοχει[

μενουβρε . [

5 δελφουραπ[

τιςεξε . . . . [

θοσεγη . [

].[.].[

## Fr. 2

. . . . .

]. . . . .

] . ἱερειαν

] . αρπασα

] . σκατες

5 ]ουσακου

] . α . αι

] . ε

. . . . .

## Fr. 1

1 ]τ . . . , first, bottom arc of round letter, θ or ο possible, but θ is usually larger; second, lower half of upright descending below line level . . . . . [ , lower part of round letter; feet of two consecutive uprights (the former thicker and slightly longer) with very scant traces of ink in between on abraded fibres; very small trace of ink at baseline; small dot at baseline followed by lower part of slightly curved upright compatible with right-hand vertical of η 4 . [ , thick slightly diagonal trace descending from left to right roughly at mid height on edge 6 . . . . [ , remains of oval with horizontal middle stroke suggesting θ; left-hand upper curve of small circle and upper part of left vertical suggesting ρ; upper curved stroke and thinner horizontal middle stroke projecting to the right; right-hand extremity of descending oblique stroke at mid height 7 . [ , upper part of upright 8 ] . , lower part of diagonal stroke descending from left to right or lower part of left-hand arc ] . , remains of square letter, perhaps π or η.

## Fr. 2

1 ] . . . . ., very scant traces of lower part of the line: first, lower part of long upright ending with leftwards curve; second, three spots, two low on the line and one higher in between; third, trace, less than 1 mm long, slightly descending from left to right; fourth, remains of lower part of upright; fifth, two traces, 1 mm distant from each other, probably feet of two uprights; sixth, lower part of slightly rightwards curved stroke 2 ] ., faded ink in the middle of the line 3 ] ., short horizontal stroke in upper part of writing space; below, a trace roughly at line level 4 ] ., upper part of upright 6 ] ., remains of high horizontal stroke with thick right-hand extremity; below, shorter horizontal trace at line level ., small upper circle and thick and slightly oblique vertical strongly suggesting P 7 ] ., spots of ink in the middle of the line

## Fr. 1

τὸ γεννη[θὲν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐξέ-  
 θηκε, τὸν αὐ[τὸν τόπον καὶ τοῦ ἀδικήματος  
 καὶ τῆς λοχεί[ας μάρτυρα λαβοῦσα. τὸ  
 μὲν οὖν βρέφ[ος Ἑρμῆς ἀνελόμενος εἰς  
 5 Δελφοὺς ἀπ[ήνεγκεν. εὐρούσα δ' ἡ προφή-  
 τις ἐξέθρεψ[εν, τὴν Κρέουσαν δὲ Εὐ-  
 θος ἔγημ[εν. συμμαχήσας γὰρ Ἀθηναί-  
 οἰς [τ]ῆ[ν βασιλείαν κτλ.

## Fr. 2

]. . . . .  
 ]. ἰέρειαν  
 ]. αρπασα  
 ]. σκατες  
 5 ]ουσακου  
 ]. αραι  
 ]. ε

## Fr. 1

'(She) abandoned the newborn beneath the acropolis, taking the same place as a witness of both the rape and the childbirth. Hermes took the child up and brought it to Delphi. The prophetess found and reared it. Then Xuthus married Creusa, since, having joined in alliance with the Athenians, (he obtained) the reign . . .'

1 In the mediaeval manuscripts τὸ γεννηθὲν is preceded by Κρέουσαν τὴν Ἐρεχθίδος Ἀπόλλων φθείρας ἔγκυον ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἢ δὲ. These words must have occupied two lines in the papyrus, most plausibly with line division within the word φθείρας (Κρέουσαν τὴν Ἐρεχθίδος Ἀπόλλων φθείρας ἔγκυον ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἢ δὲ), which would give two lines of 30 and 29 letters respectively. Therefore, the first extant line in 5285 must be the third of the summary, and the sixth of the

hypothesis considering the usual three-line heading (in this case *Ἴων οὐ ἀρχή | ὁ χαλκείοισιν οὐρανὸν νότοις Ἄτλας | ἢ δ' ὑπόθεσις*), regularly included in 2455.

5 ἀπ[ήνεγκεν: ἤνεγκεν MSS. The reading of the mediaeval manuscripts is not compatible with the visible letters, but the compound ἀπ[ήνεγκεν, used in *Ion* 16, is a likely supplement. The simple verb occurs in *Ion* 38. There are many instances of this kind of *variae lectiones* in Euripidean hypotheses: cf. e.g. *hyp. Hipp. II* l. 16 Diggle φανεῖς MSS, plausibly ἐπ[ιφανεῖς P. Mil. Vogl. II 44 ii 35; *hyp. Phoc.* l. 14 Diggle προ[ρε[π]έσφ[αξ]εν 2455 fr. 17.4 3, κατέσφαξεν XG, ἀπ- F, ἔσφαξει Ω, ἀνείλεν S; *hyp. Phoc.* l. 16 Diggle ἀπε[χώρ]ησ[αν] 2455 fr. 17.4 6, ἀνεχώρησαν MSS. A more substantial variant such as ἀπ[ήγαγεν], used in *hyp. Andr.* l. 14 Diggle (v.l. ἀνήγαγε), cannot be excluded.

6 ἐξέθρεψ[εν: ἀνέθρεψε MSS. ἐκτρέφω is used in *Ion* 318, 357, 821, 823 and 1531 and in the *Alexandros* hypothesis preserved in LII 3650 (6). The participle ἐκτραφέντα occurs a few lines below in the mediaeval version of the *Ion* hypothesis. The variant of the papyrus reflects the classical usage, whereas a search on the TLG reveals that ἀνατρέφω is attested with the meaning of 'rearing a child' starting from the late Hellenistic or Roman period (the first occurrences are Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.28.1, and, as a *varia lectio*, *Batrachomyomachia* 19). In the Roman period the two forms seem equivalent: they are used as synonyms in the treatise *περὶ τρόπων* attributed to Tryphon (*Rhet. Gr.* III 193, 19–20 Spengel), and they are indifferently used for example in Apollodorus (ἐκ- *Epit.* 6.24; ἀνα- *Bibl.* 2.36 [2.4.1], 3.43 [3.5.5], 3.101 [3.8.2]) and Lucian (e.g. ἐκ- *Pod.* 5, ἀνα- *Dial. Deor.* 12.2). Among a group of late Byzantine scholia to Aristophanes' *Clouds* (the so-called *Scholia Leidensia*: see *Scholia in Aristoph.* ed. W. J. W. Koster et al., I.3.2 (1974) pp. lxxv–xcii), the verb ἐκτρέφω used in the play is regularly glossed with the corresponding forms of ἀνατρέφω (*sch. in Nub.* 519, 532, 795, 1380). On these grounds, it seems more likely that ἀνέθρεψε was introduced into the mediaeval manuscripts instead of ἐξέθρεψε than the opposite. Thus 5285 seems to preserve the original reading.

In 2455 the ephelecytic ν is regularly used before initial vowel (see e.g. *hyp. Med.* fr. 1 3; *hyp. Temen.* fr. 10 5; *hyp. Tenn.* fr. 14.1 6). It is used very often also before initial consonant (e.g. *hyp. Sthen.* fr. 6 6, *hyp. Temen.* fr. 9 4 and 5 etc.), being omitted only in *hyp. Sthen.* fr. 24+95 3 (ἀν]έσ[ει]ε δ[ε]) and 5285 fr. 1 2. As far as we can judge from the extant lines of the roll, it is regularly used at end of sentence: see e.g. *hyp. Teleph.* 2455 fr. 12 5, *hyp. Tenn.* fr. 14.1 8, *hyp. Phoen.* fr. 17.4 9. L and P, on the contrary, use it only before a vowel or for the very last word of a hypothesis (φνεῖν in the *Cyclops* hypothesis, ὠκησεν in the *Andromache* hypothesis), and regularly omit it before an initial consonant. In the *Heracles* hypothesis, for example, they read ἐγέννησε at the end of a sentence followed by an initial consonant (l. 2 in Diggle's OCT) whereas 5284 fr. 1 13 reads ἐγ]έννησεν. In view of the treatment of the ephelecytic ν in 2455 on the one hand, and in L and P on the other, it seems likely that the papyrus read ἐξέθρεψεν.

[τὴν Κρέουσαν δέ] supplied e.g. with MSS; but τὴν δέ Κρέουσαν is more likely to have been the original reading of the papyrus, according to the standard usage of the narrative hypotheses. See e.g. *hyp. Mel. Sap.* τὴν δέ Με[λ]αν[ίππην] (2455 fr. 2 6), *hyp. Tro.* l. 11 Diggle τῆς μὲν Ἑλένης, *hyp. Hipp. II* l. 22 Diggle τὴν μὲν Φαίδραν and l. 24 Diggle τῷ δέ Ἴππολύτῳ. In *hyp. Mel. Sap.*, where 2455 fr. 2 11 reads ὑπὸ δέ [τὴν κάθοδον], the Byzantine commentary of John Logotheta, which quotes this hypothesis (H. Rabe, *RhM* 63 (1908) 145), has the order ὑπὸ τὴν κάθοδον δέ, but the *ordo verborum* of the papyrus is preserved in the other mediaeval witness Gregory of Corinth (*Rhet. Gr.* VII 1312, 10 Walz). Another possible way to avoid the postposition of δέ is to delete the article, but it is required to fill the space.

Fr. 2

'priestess . . . having snatched away . . .'

2 ἰέρειαν: this word and a form of ἀρπάζω as in 3 (see 3 n.) occur in Apollodorus' account of Iphigenia's myth: *Epit.* 3.22 ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν Ἄρτεμις ἀρπάσασα ἰέρειαν ἑαυτῆς εἰς Κυβοταύρους κατέστησεν, ἔλαφον ἀντ' αὐτῆς τῷ βωμῷ παραστήσασα. Cf. the antecedents of the play told by Iphigenia



in the prologue of *IT*, in particular 28–34 ἀλλ' ἐξέκλεψεν ἑλαφον ἀντιδουῶνά μου / Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς, διὰ δὲ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρα πέμψασά μ' ἐς τήνδ' ὤκισεν Ταύρων χθόνα / . . . / ναοῖσι δ' ἐν τοῖσδ' ἱερίαν τίθησί με. Moreover, the possible ἐξᾶραι in 6 is paralleled in *Apd. Epit.* 6.27 ἄρα τὸ ξόανον, referring to Orestes' retrieval of the statue of Artemis, which Apollo prescribed to him so that he could be healed from his post-matricide madness: cf. Orestes' words in *IT* 85–92 εὖ (sc. Phoebus) δ' εἶπας εἰθεῖν Ταυρικῆς μ' ὄρους χθονός, / ἐνθ' Ἄρτεμις κοῖ κύγγονος βωμοῦς ἔχοι, / λαβεῖν τ' ἄγαλμα θεᾶς . . . / καὶ ταῦτα δράσαντ' ἀμνηστὰς ἔξειν πόνων. The simple ἠράμην is used to indicate the removal of the statue in *IT* 1201. The Latin *auellere* is found in *Hyg. Fab.* 120, an account of the same story.

The text of *Iphigenia in Tauris* in L and P, the only witnesses, is preceded by an incomplete narrative hypothesis dealing with the antecedents and first events of the play. There is no overlap with the papyrus, but it is possible that 5285 and the mediaeval manuscripts preserve different parts of the same hypothesis. In the mediaeval text Iphigenia is not mentioned, as the extant part only deals with events involving Orestes (his arrival in Tauris with Pylades, how the locals saw and captured them so that they could be sacrificed to Artemis as customary), but she may have been named in the lines immediately following the extant ones, if they recounted the meeting of Orestes and the priestess of Artemis, i.e. Iphigenia, their recognition and the following escape plan. In this case 1–2 of our fragment might have run as follows: (sc. Orestes) παραγενόμενος | [δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἰφιγένειαν | [ἐπέγνω τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οὐσα]ν ἱερείαν. For ἐπέγνω cf. *hyp. Alex.* LII 3650 27. This would constitute a very condensed summary of the complex ἀναγνωρισμὸς scene.

3 Segmentation after *αρ*, *πα*, or *πας* is theoretically possible. The trace right after the break is incompatible with *γ*, so *γαρ πασα* is excluded, and there seem to be no other reasonable options compatible with the trace and segmentation. Segmentation after *πα* and *πας* are compatible, respectively, with ἀκαρπα or similar adjectives, and a plural accusative of the rare/poetical πόρπη or ἄρπη. All this considered, a form of ἀρπάζω or ἐξαρπάζω (the latter suggested by Colomo: ξ is a possible reading of the first trace) seems much more plausible, cf. 3–7 n.

4 ]κατες: an augmented form of a compound verb starting e.g. with εἰκατα- is possible, but segmentation before *κ* seems more probable.

5 ουσακου: plausible segmentation after *ς*, followed e.g. by a form of ἀκούσιος or ἀκούω; segmentation after *α* would allow only very few supplements, e.g. forms of κοῦφος, κουφίζω and similar.

3–7 The verb ἀρπάζειν (or ἐξαρπάζειν) in 3 may refer to an antecedent of the play, i.e. Artemis saving Iphigenia from the sacrifice in Aulis, in a brief flashback: e.g. [μέλ]||[λουσαν γὰρ θύεσθαι / εφάζεσθαι Ἄρτεμι]ς ἀρπάσα||[σα διέσωσεν καὶ εἰς Ταύρου]ς κατές||[τησεν αὐτήν. Ἰφιγένεια δ' αὐτ]οῖς ἀκού||[σασα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον ἐ]ξᾶραι | [θέλειν (promised to help them)]. A parallel for the former sentence is offered by P. Amh. II 20, 26–8 (commentary on selected lemmata from Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, fourth century AD): ἡ δὲ ἱστορ[ία ἔχει οὕτω· μέ]λλουσαν θύεσθαι τὴν Ἰφιγένει[αν ἢ Ἄρτ]εμις [ἀ]ρπάσασα ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ταύρους. As to the proposed κατές-||[τησεν, there are no instances of syllable division involving *ς* in consonant clusters in this roll. In other papyri containing hypotheses there are a few instances of division before *ς* (*hyp. Andr.* 3650 47–8 [Ὀρέ]||[κτης, *hyp. Sypri* PSI XI 1286 fr. A ii 42–3 [δυνα]||[κτη]), whereas in the first/second century P. Mil. Vogl. I 18, containing *digressis* of Callimachus' poems, there is an example of division after (355–6 ἀνηρπᾶσθαι). In 5283 initial syllable division after *ς* has been corrected in two instances, fr. 1+2 iii 15–16 περιγεν[η]ς||[ς]||[σθ]αι and fr. 1+2 iv 9–10 χρη[ς]||[ς]||[μὸς (see 5283 introd. and notes *ad locc.*).

For the contents of the proposed Ἰφιγένεια δ' αὐτ]οῖς ἀκού||[σασα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον ἐ]ξᾶραι | [θέλειν cf. *IT* 977–82. As to ἀκού||[σασα, cf. *hyp. Tenn.* 2455 fr. 141 5–7 τὸν Τ[ε]ννην ἠκούεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρα νῆσον σεσωσθαι.

## V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

### 5286. LETTER TO BROTHERS AMMONION AND APOLLO—

13 1B.125/F(d)

9.9 × 12.8 cm

13–22 August 82

The foot of a letter to two brothers from a person who seems to have been a family member: he or she refers to the mother as *τῆι μητρὶ* (5, 11–12) and uses the article in the address, *τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, which could imply that the sender was a sibling. He or she informs them of certain problems encountered in organising transport of some unspecified agricultural good to Aphrodision and asks them to relay this to their mother. The sender further tells them of onions that they will be receiving and that, if someone can be found to dispatch some goods, instructions have been given that the goods are to be divided between the brothers and mother so that each ends up having an equitable share. And, finally, the sender extends to the addressees the greetings of a certain Dionysius and the children, who will presumably also have belonged to the family.

The Aphrodision mentioned in 1 and 10 may be the town in the Small Oasis, located about 200 km away from Oxyrhynchus. This was one of the shorter desert routes, which would take three or four days to reach by donkey; see G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte* (1987) 146–50.

The writing runs with the fibres. Creases and holes show that the letter was folded vertically three times and horizontally at least once, where the papyrus breaks off at the top; this was probably the middle horizontal fold. The back carries the address.

Ἀφροδισίω. κέκμηκα [δ]έ ἕως ἂν  
ταῦτα βασταχθῆ κ[αί] οὐδέ εἰς  
τεθέληκεν βαστάξαι οὐδέ φορέ-  
τρον λέγοντες εἰ μὴ ὑφ' ἐν δύο  
5 ἢ τρεῖς ἀρτάβας. λέγ(ε)τε τῆι μητρὶ.  
κομίσασθε παρὰ Ἀνουβάτος υἱοῦ  
Παθῶτου Πλουτᾶ κρομμύων  
μέτρον ἕν. ἐνε[τ]ειλάμην, εἴ που  
εὐρήσῃ τινά, βαστάξαι τὸ ἀπε-  
10 νεχθὲν εἰς τὸ Ἀφροδί(σι)ον. τοῦτο οὖν  
εἰ μὴ ἐνεχθῆ, δότε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆι μη-  
τρὶ μέτρον καὶ ὑμεῖν τὰ ἄλλα δύο  
μέτρα ὡς εἶναι ἐκάστῳ μέτρα  
πέντε. (vac.) ἔρρωσθε.

15 ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Διονύσι[ο]ς  
καὶ τὰ παιδιά. (vac.) ἔτους πρώτου  
Αὐτοκράτορος [Κ]αί[α]ρος Δομιτιανού  
Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς [Και]σαρείου κ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

Ἀμμωνίω(νι) καὶ Ἀπολλω( ) τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

4 ὑφ      6 νι-      12 I. ὑμῖν      19 αμμωνι<sup>m</sup>      απολλ<sup>m</sup>

'... Aphrodision. I have been toiling till these have been transported, and not one person has been willing to dispatch them even for a fee: they refuse, unless it's two or three artabas at a time. Tell mother. Receive from Anoubas, son of Pathotes, son of Ploutas, one *metron* of onions. I gave instructions, if they should find anyone, to transport what has been removed to Aphrodision. Thus, if it should be dispatched, give mother one *metron* of it and yourselves the other two, so that each has five *metra*. Farewell.

'Dionysius and the children greet you. Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus, on the 2-th of the month Caesareus.'

Back: 'To Ammonion and Apollo(nius?), his/her brothers.'

1 Ἀφροδιείω. Cf. 10. This may refer to the village in the Small Oasis rather than to a temple of Aphrodite elsewhere, though such a temple will have given the name to the locality; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite: repertorio toponomastico* (1981) 37, and Wagner, *Les Oasis* 199-200. Wagner, *Les Oasis* 199 n. 3, proposed to restore ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀ[φροδιείου τῆς Μικρᾶς Ὀάσεως] in III 507 2 (146), a loan of money that was to be used for the purchase of hay; the hay was to be stored in a camel shed at Oxyrhynchus, so that this text would offer evidence for camel-based transport between Oxyrhynchus and the Oasis. But since only the first letter of the toponym is preserved, the restoration remains doubtful.

As Aphrodision is a place, the line before line 1 may have ended ἐν τῷ.

4 λέγοντες. This picks up οὐδὲ εἰς in 2; cf. X. *Hell.* 2.2.3 ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες (sc. πάντες), and generally Kuhner-Gerth, *Grammatik* ii 397 k.

ὑφ' ἐν. For the expression 'together' cf. I 94 12-13 (83), a sale of two slaves, ἦτοι ὑφ' ἐν ἡ καθ' ἓνα τῆς εἰς εὐρη τιμῆς, or SB III 7173.2-4 (179/80) ἐνεκα τοῦ μὴ κατ' ὄνομα | τὴν μεμισθωμένην κεκυρωκέναι, ἀλλὰ ὑφ' ἐν | πάντα.

The method of transport is not revealed. From the mention of 'two or three artabas' the likeliest mode of transporting the goods is the donkey, though the camel might have been more suited to desert terrain. Three artabas is generally reckoned to be the commonest load for a donkey, which would accord well with the drivers' refusal to depart with less than this load; see C. E. P. Adams, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt* (2007) 77-81.

5 λέγ(ετ)ε τῆι μητρί. Dr W. B. Henry suggests that ετ was written instead of ετετ by haplography; for the plural cf. II δότε, as well as the address on the back.

κρομμύων. On onions, see D. Crawford, *CE* 48 (1973) 355 n. 2; R. S. Bagnall, *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book* (1997) 40-41.

7 Παθώτου Πλουτά. We may also consider reading Παθώτου (τοῦ) Πλουτά.

8 μέτρον. One *metron* consisted of four choenices, and one artaba consisted of forty choenices; see R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 369 n. 59.

19 Ἀπολλω(-): Ἀπολλω(νίωι) is the likeliest expansion, though Ἀπολλῶ(τι) cannot be ruled out.

## 5287. APPLICATION FOR PURCHASE

71/1(c)

6.7 × 8.5 cm

29 August – 27 September 193  
Plate X

Although they acclaimed Pescennius Niger, *legatus pro praetore* of Syria, as one of the five contenders for the Roman purple in April of 193, Egypt's legions did not remain loyal to him beyond mid February of the following year. Part of the interest of this offer of auction purchase thus lies in the rarity of finding any documents dated to his reign; see A. Birley, *Septimius Severus: the African Emperor* (1989) 176. The papyrus fits into the narrow window of time between Niger's acclamation and fall. We are missing the first two-thirds of the original document (cf. LXX 4778, plate x) and do not know precisely which officials were involved, which properties and locations, or who were the hopeful buyers in this offer. The back is blank.

From what remains, the formulaic term *ὑπόσχεσις* ('promise,' 'undertaking') suggests that 5287 is an application for purchase. The term is common in papyri from the High Empire for offers submitted by persons seeking to purchase or rent properties that were ownerless or had devolved to imperial accounts. Such offers were usually transmitted to the *strategoï* or royal scribes in whose nome the property in question existed. Bids were then published in order to solicit competing offers in a sort of auction; the highest bidder would take ownership. The conditional clauses of approval at the end of this papyrus refer to the final decision of the nome official or the Alexandrian bureau involved; for a full discussion on how an auction was carried out, see 4778 introd.

Given the large sum of money involved, this offer most likely pertained to either the purchase of an ownerless house (4778, III 513 (184) and LXII 4337 (c.178?)) or of a comparable structure.

δρ]αχμῶν διςχειλίων  
 πε]ντακοσίων, ἃς διαγράψομεν  
 ὑ]μῖν ἐντὸς τριακάδος  
 Α]θυρ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κυρωθῶμεν  
 5 οὐ] κατασκεθιζόμεθα  
 τ]ῆδε τῇ ὑποσχεσει.  
 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Γ]αίου Πεκκεννίου Νίγερος  
 Ὑ]ἱστοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Θωθ.

1 1. διςχειλίων

5 1. κατασκεθιζόμεθα

6 ὑποσχεσει

8 γ]αίου

'... of the two thousand five hundred drachmas which we will pay to you by the thirtieth of

Hathyr. But if this application is not confirmed we will not be held to this offer. Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Gaius Pescennius Niger Iustus Augustus, Thoth.'

3 ἐντός τριακάδος: this particular temporal expression is not elsewhere paired with auction applications or with the conditional statements concerning validity.

4-6 εἰάν δέ . . . τῇ ὑποχέσει: for similar conditional formulas see P. Turner 24.13-14 n.; 4778 29-30.

8 Γαίου Πεκκενίου: Pescennius Niger is attested in the following papyri and ostraka: BGU II 454, XV 2514, 2545; O. Bodl. II 1560; O. Leid. 248; O. Ont.Mus. II 226; O. Wilck. 972, 974; P. Bodl. I 18; P. Grenf. II 60; P. Harr. II 195; IV 719, 801 desc., LXIX 4736 introd.; SB VIII 9906, XX 14595.

K. F. FUNDERBURK

### 5288. GARDENER'S WORK CONTRACT

65 6B.39/D(1-2)a

13.7 × 32 cm

25 June 570

Aurelius Phoebammon, a gardener, agrees to supply Georgia, a 'noble woman', with ten bunches of λάχανα daily for four months and to receive one third of a solidus in remuneration for them. This appears to be the first published contract to supply λάχανα; while it is notable in that respect, the expressions used in it are those that recur in work contracts, although it is simpler than most documents of this time. The simplicity may reflect the simpler task involved, the short duration of the contract, and the fact that it was already half fulfilled when the contract was made (see 15-18 n.). See generally A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* = P. Heid. V (1990) 130-84; for Oxyrhynchite contracts published more recently than those listed on pp. 130-31, see LXXIII 4967 introd. and A. Benaissa, *APF* 60 (2014) 199.

5288 may provide the name of a hitherto unknown notary, a certain Iohannes, who also seems to have been a priest.

The papyrus is complete apart from some minor damage on the top half. It was folded horizontally first, and then vertically. The text runs with the fibres in a largish fluent cursive, which becomes crowded in the lower part, as the scribe runs out of space. The back carries a description of the document.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου  
 ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστος εὐεργέτης Φλ(αοίου)  
 Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκρ(άτορος)  
 ἔτους ε̄, ὑπατίας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος  
 5 τὸ β̄, Ἐπειφ ᾱ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) γ̄//.  
 τῇ εὐγενεστάτῃ Γεωργία θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς  
 λαμπρᾶς μνήμης (vac.) ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς  
 λαμ[π]ρᾶς Ὁξυρ[υ]γχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρήλιος

Φοι[β]άμμων κηπουρὸς υἱὸς Ἄνουπ μητρ(ὸς)  
 10 Στε[φα]νουῦδος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἄμουλη τοῦ Ὁξυρυγ(χίτου)  
 νομοῦ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ διὰ ταύτης μου  
 τῆς ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας συντεθεῖσθαι  
 με πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐγένειαν ἐφ' ᾧ τέ με  
 χορηγεῖν καὶ δίδόναι αὐτῇ λάχανα  
 15 ἐπὶ τετράμηνων δηλονότι ἀπὸ πεντε-  
 καιδεκάτης τοῦ παρελθόντος μηνὸς Παχων  
 τῆς παρούσης τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἕως πεντεκαιδ(εκάτης)  
 τοῦ [Θ]ωθ μηνὸς {μηνὸς} τῆς τετάρτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
 καὶ λαβεῖν με παρὰ τῆς σὴς εὐγενείας  
 20 νομισματίου τρίτον λόγῳ τῆς τιμῆς  
 τῶν αὐτῶν λαχάνων ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 τεσσάρων μηνῶν καὶ ὁμολογῶ δίδόναι αὐτῇ  
 ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρας λάχανα δέματα  
 ἐννέα καὶ ἰλιτὴν μίαν καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρ(α)  
 25 δέματα λαχ(άνων) δέκα ἄχρι συμπληρ(ώσεως) τῶν  
 αὐτῶν τεσσάρων μηνῶν ἀνυπερθέτως.  
 κύρ(ιον) τὸ συνάλλαγμα ἀπλ(οῦν) γραφ(έν) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα).  
 Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἄνουπ ὁ προγεγραμμ(ένος) στοιχ(εῖ)  
 μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Σερῆνος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου)  
 30 ὄντος. (m. 2) ✠ *di emu Iohannu* πρ(εσβυτέρου) *et eliothe*

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

(m. 1) † συνάλλαγμ[α] Φοιβάμμωνος κηπουρ(οῦ) υἱοῦ Ἄνουπ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου)  
 Ἄμουλη //

2 φλς	3 αυτοκρ	4 ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας	5 ἰνδ	9, 28 υἱος
9 μητρ	10 1. Στεφανούτος	Ὁξυρυτ	15 1. τετράμηνον	17 ἰνδ
18 ἰνδ	23 1. ἡμέρα	24 ἰλιτην; 1. εἰλητήν?	ημερ	25 λαχς
27 κυρ	ἀπἀγραφ	επερωμοδ	28 προγεγραμμςτοιχς	29 προκ
30 ✠	31 κηπουρ	εποικς		υ αγρ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5, in the consulship of his (lit. "their") Serenity for the 2nd time, Erciph 1, indiction 3.

'To the most noble Georgia, daughter of (*vac.*) of splendid memory, from this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Phoebammon, gardener, son of Anup, mother Stephanous, from the hamlet of Amule in the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. I acknowledge through this written bond of mine that I have contracted with your nobility to supply and deliver to you vegetables for four months, that is, from the fifteenth of the past month of Pachon of the present third indiction till the fifteenth of the month of Thoth of the fourth indiction and that I have received from your nobility one third

of a solidus for the said vegetables for the said four months. And I agree to deliver to you on the first day nine tied-up bundles of vegetables and one rolled-up bundle(?) and on the second day ten tied-up bundles of vegetables without delay till the completion of the same four months. The contract, written in one copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question, I assented.

'I, Phoebammon son of Anup, the aforementioned: all is satisfactory to me as it is set out above. I, Serenus, wrote for him since he is illiterate.'

(2nd hand) 'Completed through me, Iohannes, priest.'

Back: (1st hand?) 'Contract of Phoebammon, gardener, son of Anup, from the hamlet of Amule.'

1-5 On the combined regnal and consular clauses used in the reign of Iustinus II and for the conversion of the date, see Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 47-9, 94-5, 151, and 210 (where it is formula 4).

6-7 τῆ εὐγενεστάτῃ Γεωργία θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς | λαμπρᾶς μνήμης (vac). The epithet εὐγενεστάτη and its cognates (cf. 13 τὴν αὐτῆς εὐγένειαν) are applied almost exclusively to women of apparently middling social standing; see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 181-6. The phrase used of her late father indicates that he was a *vir clarissimus*.

The scribe left a blank space for the name of her father to be inserted later, but this was never done.

10 Ἀμουλη. The place, first described as a hamlet here, is otherwise attested only in VIII 1165 5 (sixth century) and SB I 1945.2 (fifth/sixth century); see A. Benaissa, *RSO*<sup>V</sup> s.v. for details.

11-12 ὁμολογῶ . . . συντεθεῖσθαι. On the formula, see P. Heid. V p. 152, n. 40.

14 λάχανα. An umbrella term for edible items of plant origin, both fresh and preserved, which may also have included the products of various oleaginous plants; see esp. F. Morelli, *ZPE* 149 (2004) 138-42.

15-18 δηλονότι . . . τετάρτης ἰνδικτίωνος). The contract is made in retrospect: it was concluded on 1 Epeiph (25 June) yet ran from 15 Pachon (10 May) to 15 Thoth (12 September); e.g. LVIII 3933 (588), a goldsmith's work contract, is backdated by six months.

23 ἡμέρας, i. ἡμέρα. The sigma was added at a later stage.

λάχανα δέματα. Elsewhere λάχανα are only sold in δέματα at P. Lond. IV 1375 (710). For the construction (partitive apposition), see P. J. Parsons, *PP* 121 (1968) 287-90.

24 ἰλιτῆν. This could be εἰλιτῆν in iotacistic spelling, a substantivized adjective not attested elsewhere. It must have been a kind of bundle equivalent to but distinct from a δέμα.

26 ἀνυπερθέτως. On the 'behaviour clauses' in work contracts, which were frequently elaborate, see P. Heid. V pp. 155-6. It is slightly odd that no penalty clause is included in the contract, though cf. LVIII 3942 (606).

27 συνάλλαγμα. On the term, which was especially typical of Oxyrhynchite contracts, see P. Heid. V 349 verso n.

30 di emu Iohani πρ(εσβυτέρου). This notary is apparently new; that is, his signature cannot be identified with those of any other Oxyrhynchite notaries called Iohannes, though some of them are fragmentary; see J. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (1986) 81-2. For members of the clergy employed as notaries, see G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (2002) 250-54.

## 5289. PETITION TO A VICEGERENT

65 6B.38/C(5)a

16.2 × 36.5 cm

Seventh century  
Plate XII

A woman, Marous, addresses a petition to an unnamed *antigeouchos*, an estate vicegerent, asking him to intercede on her behalf to settle a dispute that has arisen between her and a certain Enoch, now deceased, and his wife who, Marous alleges, has also assaulted her viciously. Marous asks the *antigeouchos* to summon the woman and her mother, listen to what she has to report, and resolve the principal points at issue; finally she begs him not to allow her to suffer injustice but to protect her rights.

The petition is cast in the standard formulae designed to elicit a sympathetic response from the addressee. This is a fairly well-executed example in which common themes recur: the parlousness of her situation and the outrages that she has endured are contrasted with the powerful administrator's benevolent exercise of justice over all comers. Justice and universal *φιλανθρωπία* were the chief virtues for which many an official was praised in the *prooemia* of petitions of this period; see J.-L. Fournet, 'Entre document et littérature: la p tition dans l'antiquit  tardive', in D. Feissel, J. Gascou (eds.), *La P tition   Byzance* (2004) 62–7.

The petition is addressed not to a public official competent to resolve legal disputes and cases involving violence but to an estate official. **5289** is thus a good example of the type of petition discussed by J. Gascou, 'Les P titions priv es', in *La P tition   Byzance* 94–100, esp. 94 n. 9 (= *Fiscalit  et soci t  en  gypte byzantine* (2008) 442–8, esp. 442 n. 9). Petitions submitted by women are rare in this period; see R. S. Bagnall, 'Women's Petitions in Late Antique Egypt', in *La P tition   Byzance* 53–60.

The date of the document is suggested by the presence of the *antigeouchos*, who begins to appear in the latter half of the sixth century; see below, 3 n. It is conceivable but cannot be proven that the *antigeouchos* will have served on the estate of the Apions.

The petition is written in three different styles: first, lines 1–3 (up to *ικετ α*) are written in an elongated upright style in overlarge letters, of the type often found in the addresses on the backs of letters; then l. 3 *παρ'  μου* up to the end of l. 4 in a straight cursive; and finally, l. 5 to the end in a sloping cursive. The use of varying styles in **5289** recalls P. Cair. Masp. I 67002 (567), a petition in which the prescript as well as the first column is written in an upright cursive that contrasts with the sloping cursive of the second and third columns. The use of contrasting styles in documents of late antiquity is a common phenomenon, dealt with by J.-L. Fournet in P. Worp 35 introd., pp. 245–9. Further examples of the practice of alternating scripts in petitions include I 130 (548/9?), XXVII 2479 (sixth century), P. Gen. I 14 (sixth/seventh century), P. Ness. 54 (mid sixth century), and those given by Fournet, P. Worp p. 249 n. 31.



The papyrus is complete except for a hole in which parts of lines 8–11 are lost. As usual in petitions of this period, it is not written *transversa charta*; see J.-L. Fournet, *Pap. Congr. XXIV* (2007) 359–62. The back is blank.

We are grateful to Professor Fournet for comments on a draft.

† τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθ(ῶ) δεσπό(τη) μετὰ Θε(εὸν)  
 προσ(άτη) τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ) θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω)  
 ἀντιγ(εούχῳ) δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 Μαροῦδος πενηχρά(ς) ὑμετέρα(ς) δούλ(ης). (vac.)  
 5 ἀκούσασα ἐγὼ ἡ δούλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ  
 ἃ ποιεῖτε μετὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀδικούμενου,  
 ὡς εἶπον, καὶ γὰρ ἦλθον εἰς τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν  
 παρακαλοῦσα τυχεῖν τ[οῦ ἐλ]έ[ου]ς ὑμῶν.  
 τοῦτο δέ μοι εἶρηται, δέσπ[οτα, c.10  
 10 ὁ Ἐνώχ ὁ μακάριος τ[ c.14 ]. ἐν  
 τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα κ[ c.14  
 ἐδάρην παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ παρακαλῶ  
 τὸν ἐμὸν ἀγαθὸν δεσπότην πέμψαι  
 καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν γυν[αῖ]κα καὶ τὴν  
 15 μητέρα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν  
 λεγόμενα καὶ διαλύσαι τὰ κεφάλαια.  
 καὶ μὴ ἐάσῃ ὁ ἐμὸς ἀγαθὸς δεσπότης  
 ἀδικ[[εῖ]]θῆναι με ἀλλὰ φυλαχθῆναι μοι  
 τὸ δίκαιον, ἐπειδὴ σπόρδουλλα  
 20 παρέχει καὶ ἀφήκεν τι[ν]α λαλῆσαι ὑπὲρ  
 ἐμοῦ. καὶ ἐγνωκυῖα τὰ ἐλέη ὑμῶν  
 καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἃ, ὡς εἶπον, ποιεῖτε  
 μετὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπο[υ] καὶ γὰρ ἦλθον τυχεῖν  
 τοῦ ἐλέους σου, δέσποτα.†

1 ἐμαγαθ(δεσπ)μθ†                      2 προσ(ς)                      ἐνδοξθεοφυλῆ                      3 αντιγ(ς)                      ἱκεσία  
 4 πενηχρῶ; 1. πενηχρᾶς                      ὑμετεροδουλῆ                      5, 7 ὑμῶν                      15 1. μητέρα                      αὐτῆς corr. from  
 αὐτοῦ                      19 1. σπόρτουλα                      23 παντος: παν after corr.

'To my good master, protector after God, the most glorious, god-protected estate vicegerent, a petition and supplication from me, Marous, your poor slave. I, your slave, having heard of the good deeds that you do for everyone who suffers wrong, as I said, I too have come to your feet, begging to obtain your pity. This has been said by me, master, . . . which the blessed Enoch . . . —ed my affairs . . . I was thrashed by his wife. And I beg my good master to send for and bring the woman and her mother and to hear what we say and to resolve the principal points at issue; and let my good master ensure that I am not wronged but that my rights are protected, since she(?) provides *sportulae* and al-

lowed someone to speak for me. And having learned of your pity and the good that you, as I said, do for everyone, I too have come to obtain your pity, master.'

1-3 For the prescripts in late antique petitions, see the brief remarks by A. Martin, *Pap. Congr. XXIV* (2007) 673-4.

2 θεοφυλάκ(τω). See LVI 3872 5 n.

3 ἀντιγ(εούχω). The highest official in the estate hierarchy: see LVI 3871 6 n.; CPR XXIV 33.5 n. With one exception, all other documents that attest an *antigeouchos* date from the early seventh century; see T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012) 21 with n. 140.

4 Μαρούδος. This is probably a phonetic spelling of *Μαρούτος*, as e.g. in SB XVIII 13758.13: here cf. *επόρδουλλα* at 19, and generally Gignac, *Grammar* i 82.

ὑμετέρα(ς) δούλ(ης). Marous will not have been a slave: this is simply part of the 'diplomatic vocabulary' that the petition exhibits; see generally A. Papatomas, *Pap. Congr. XXIII* (2007) 209. Among Oxyrhynchite texts, cf. I 130 3, 7, 9, 131 2, XXVII 2479 2.

Bagnall (in *La Pétition à Byzance* 56-7) observes that in the fifth century and later, the women who submitted petitions were of relatively high social status, and further that 'non-widows submitted petitions only in cases of litigation about marriage or matrimonial property'. Marous' petition to an estate official need not imply that she was of low social status. She gives no indication of her marital status, nor is she acting through a man; 5289 may therefore corroborate Bagnall's observation that only widows used the petition in matters unrelated to marriage.

7 ὡς εἶπον, κἀγὼ ἦλθον εἰς τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν corresponds to *δέησις καὶ ἰκεσία* in 3.

12 ἐδάρην. The verb occurs in another petition, SB XVI 12371.5 (sixth century); cf. also LXXIX 5189 ↓ 10, 21, → 27, a mime of contemporary date. For its use in earlier periods, see P. Ups. Frid 9.4-5 n.

16 διαλύσαι τὰ κεφάλαια. On the term *κεφάλαια*, see D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum Justinianischen Zivilprozess* (1969) 21-4. The 'principal points at issue' are not clarified. There seem to have been two stages of the dispute: first something involving the late Enoch concerning Marous' affairs, and second the assault on Marous occasioned by his wife.

19-21 ἐπειδὴ *επόρδουλλα* | παρέχει καὶ ἀφήκέν τι[ν]α λαλήσαι ὑπὲρ | ἐμοῦ. The interpretation of the sentence is not immediately apparent. We might speculate that some official judicial litigation (hence the *sportulae*) took place concerning Marous' affairs (*τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα*, 11) with which Enoch had interfered in some way; Enoch subsequently died without the dispute having been resolved to Marous' satisfaction, and since then Enoch's wife has further attacked Marous. Marous now wants the vicegerent to summon Enoch's wife and her mother and to hear what Marous has to say. The subject of the two verbs could be Enoch's wife, who is supplying *sportulae* (to win the favour of the judge(s)?), and arranged for another person to speak for (or about) Marous; but ἀφήκεν implies authority, which would point to the 'good master', that is, the *antigeouchos*, but in that case it is unclear why he should be said to be paying *sportulae*, if he is to be the judge of the arbitration.

19 *επόρδουλλα*, l. *επόρτουλα*. For the spelling with delta, cf. P. Abinn. 26.32, P. Cair. Masp. I 67058.viii.2, P. Horak 9.16, P. Lond. V 1703.2. The word (Lat. *sportulae*) is moderately uncommon; see the listing in S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*<sup>2</sup> s.v., to which add P. Horak 9.16, and the Coptic P. Mon. Epiph. 468, KSB III 1391.2, and perhaps KRU 67.121. These are fees paid to officials; as J.-L. Fournet points out to us, they differ from *συνήθειαι*, the latter being 'des gratifications dans un sens général (pour n'importe quel type de fonctionnaire), alors que les sportules se spécialisent dans un sens judiciaire: gratifications données à un fonctionnaire du tribunal (cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67032.44-55 et surtout P. Cair. Masp. I 67031.6, 12 = ChLA XLI 1196; *Nov.* CXXIII 28)'.  
21 τὰ ἐλέη. The heteroclitic plural is not attested in the papyri but appears in the Septuagint.

## INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Greek words not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement or the *Diccionario Griego-Español* and previously unattested personal names and places are asterisked. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* are not indexed.

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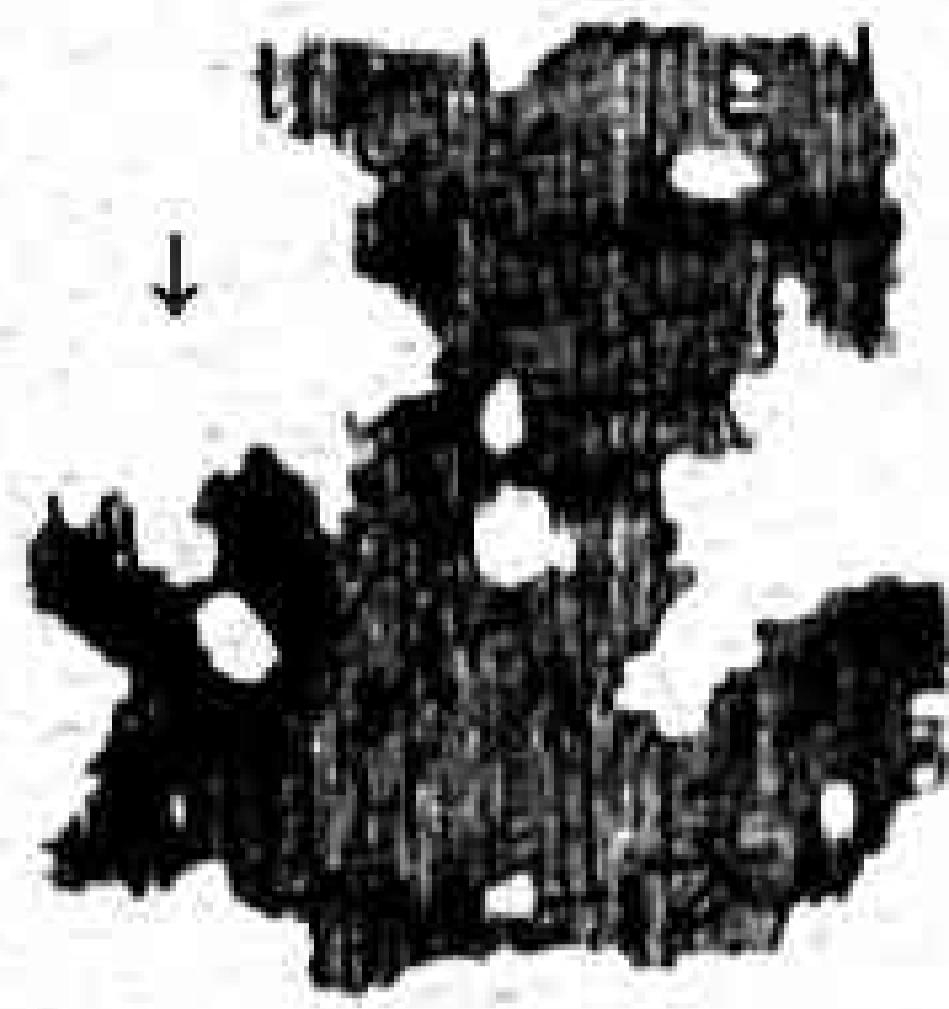
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5258



5261



5265



5262



5267



cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

PLATE III

5260 (reduced)

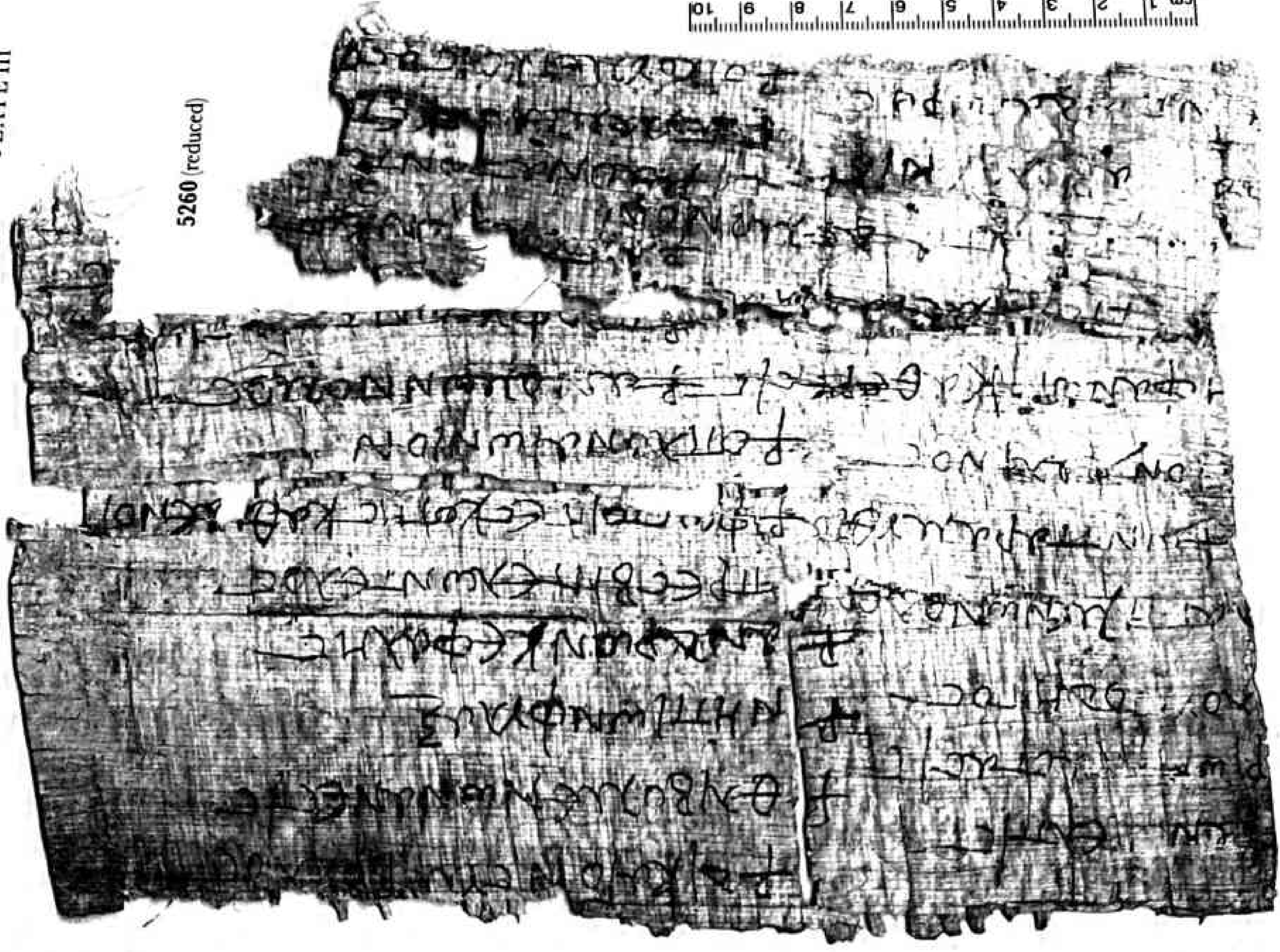
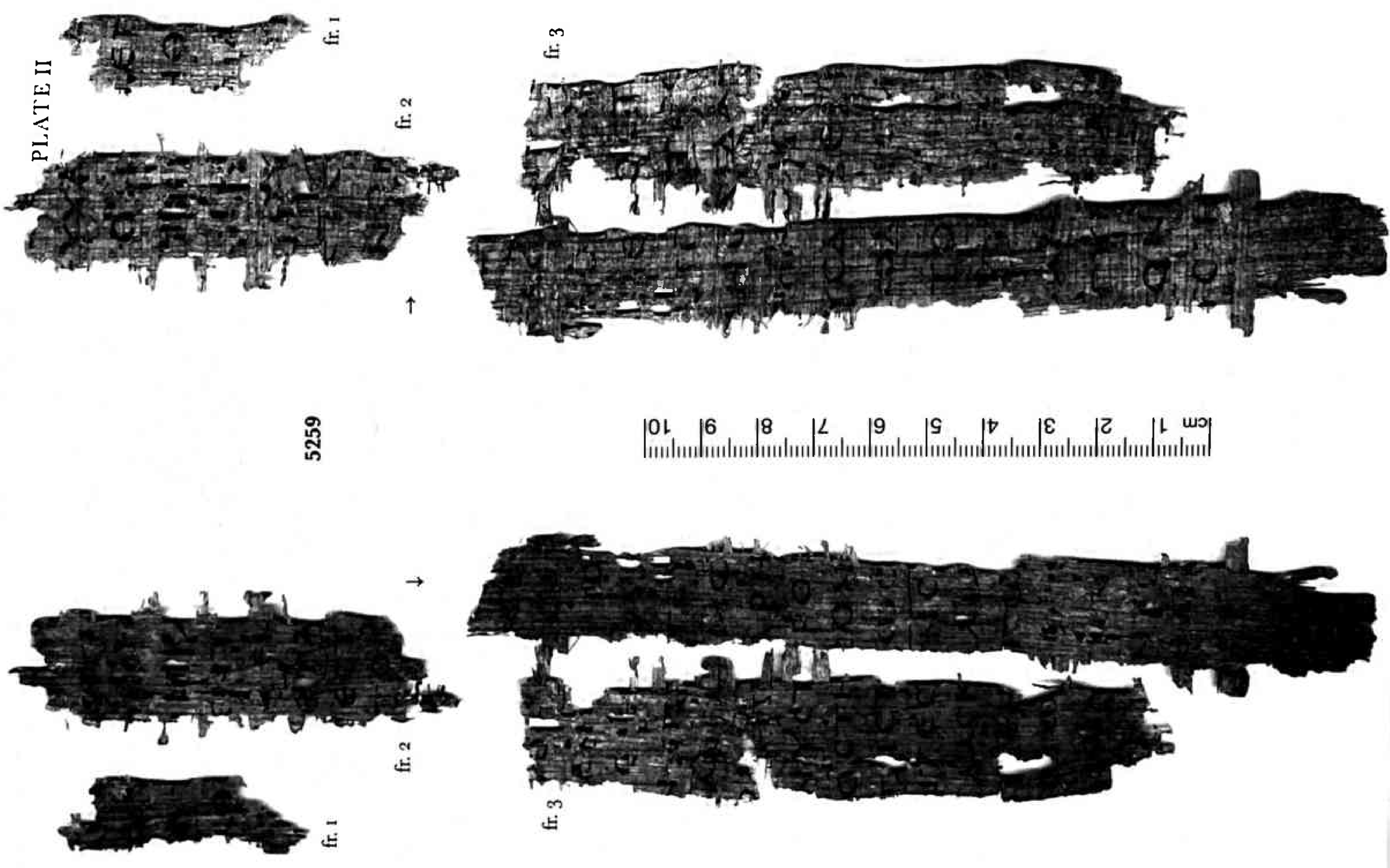
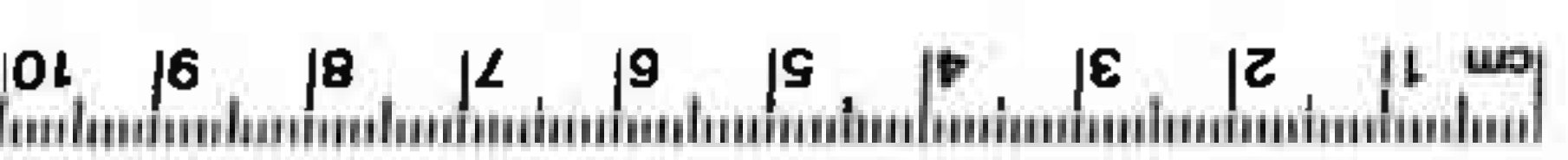


PLATE II

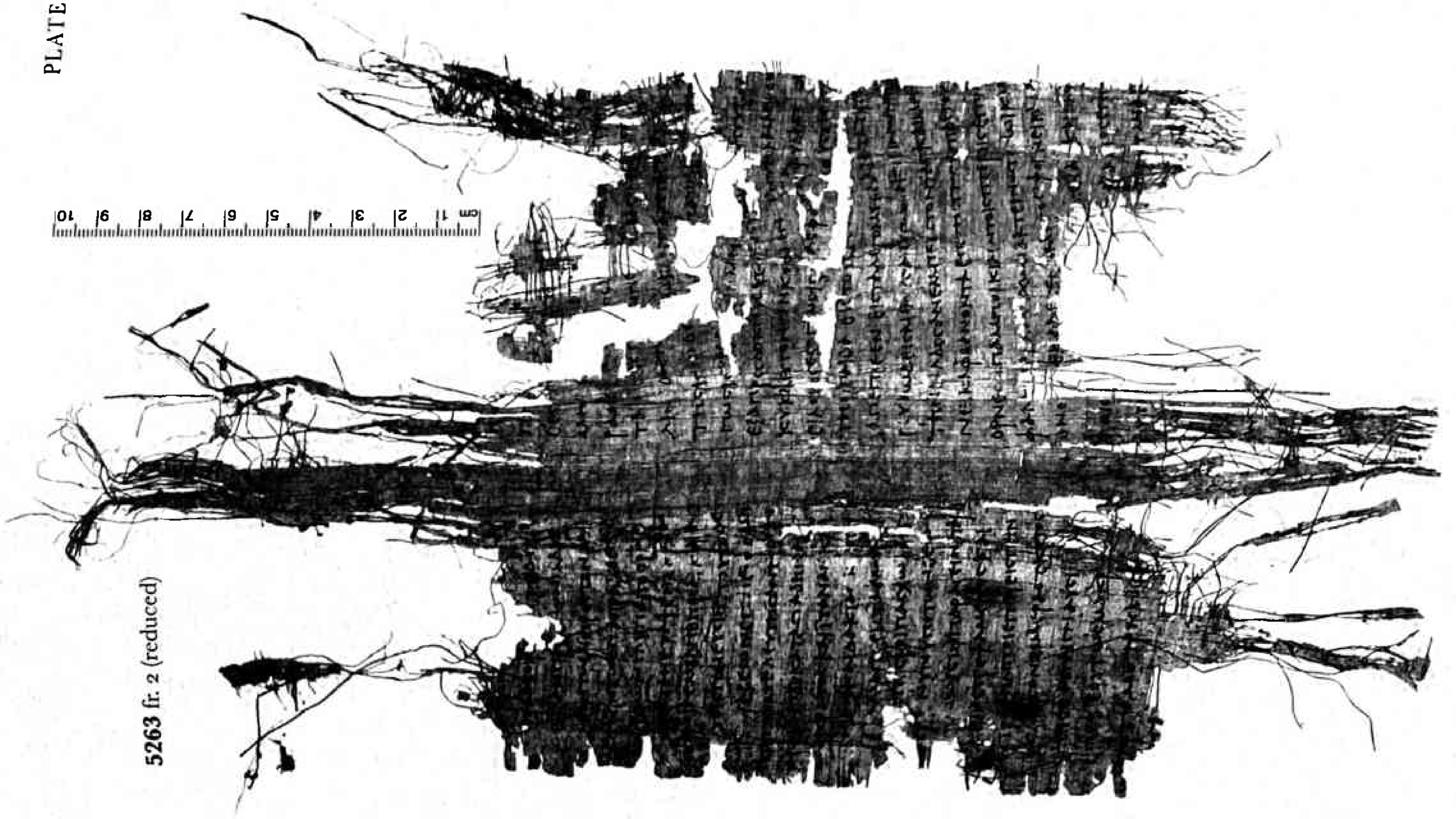
5259

cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

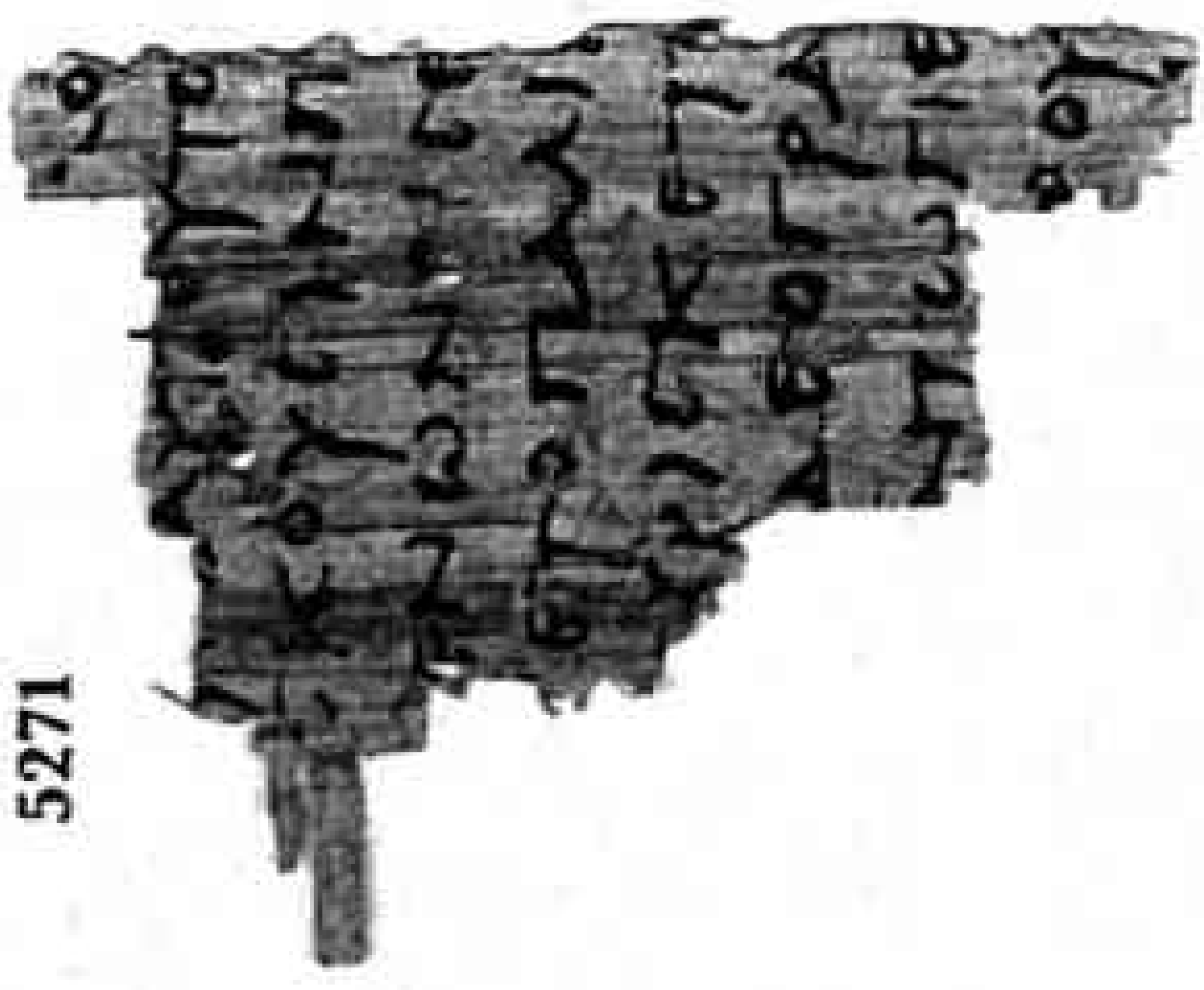




5263 fr. 2 (reduced)



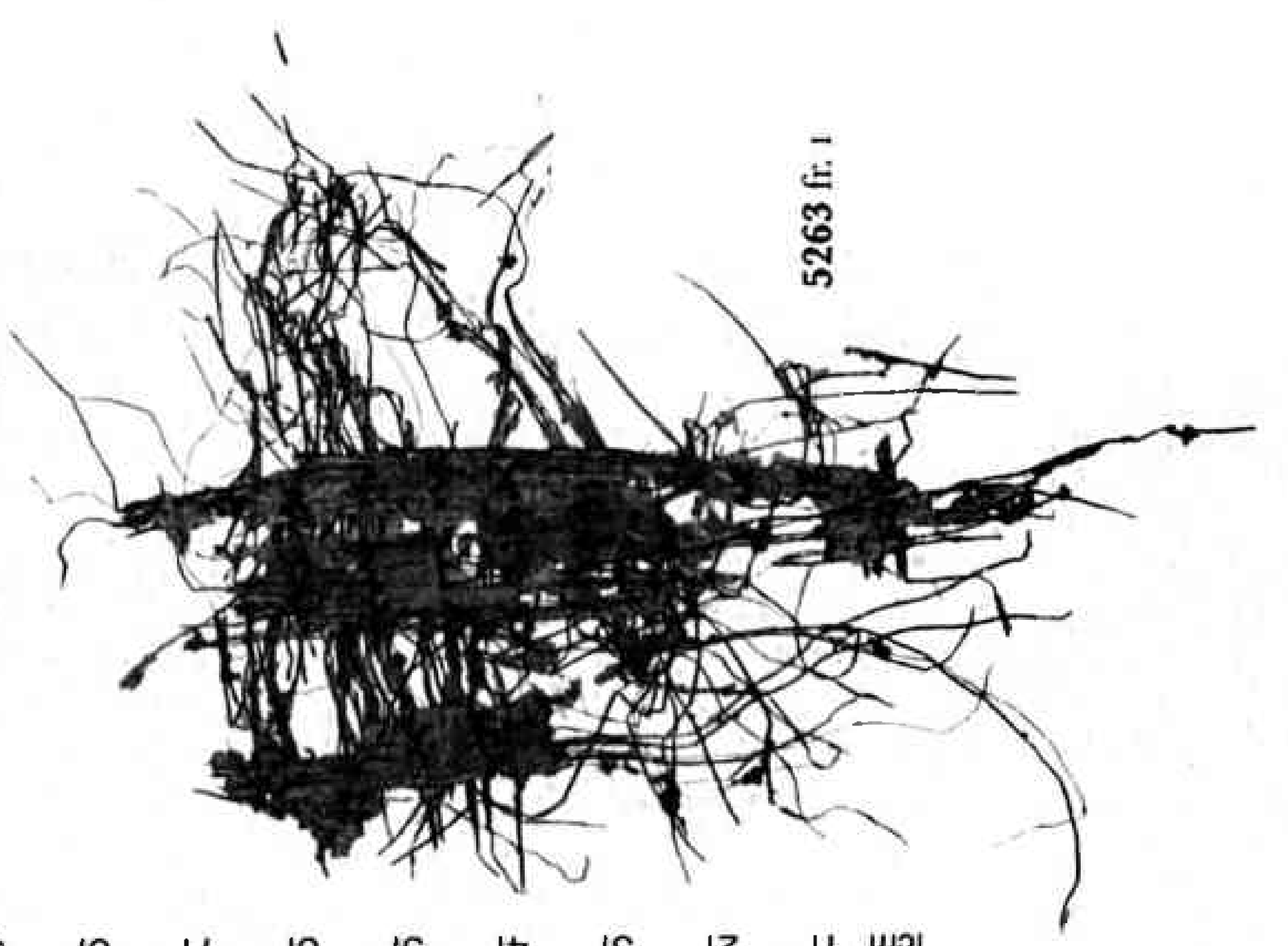
5271



5282

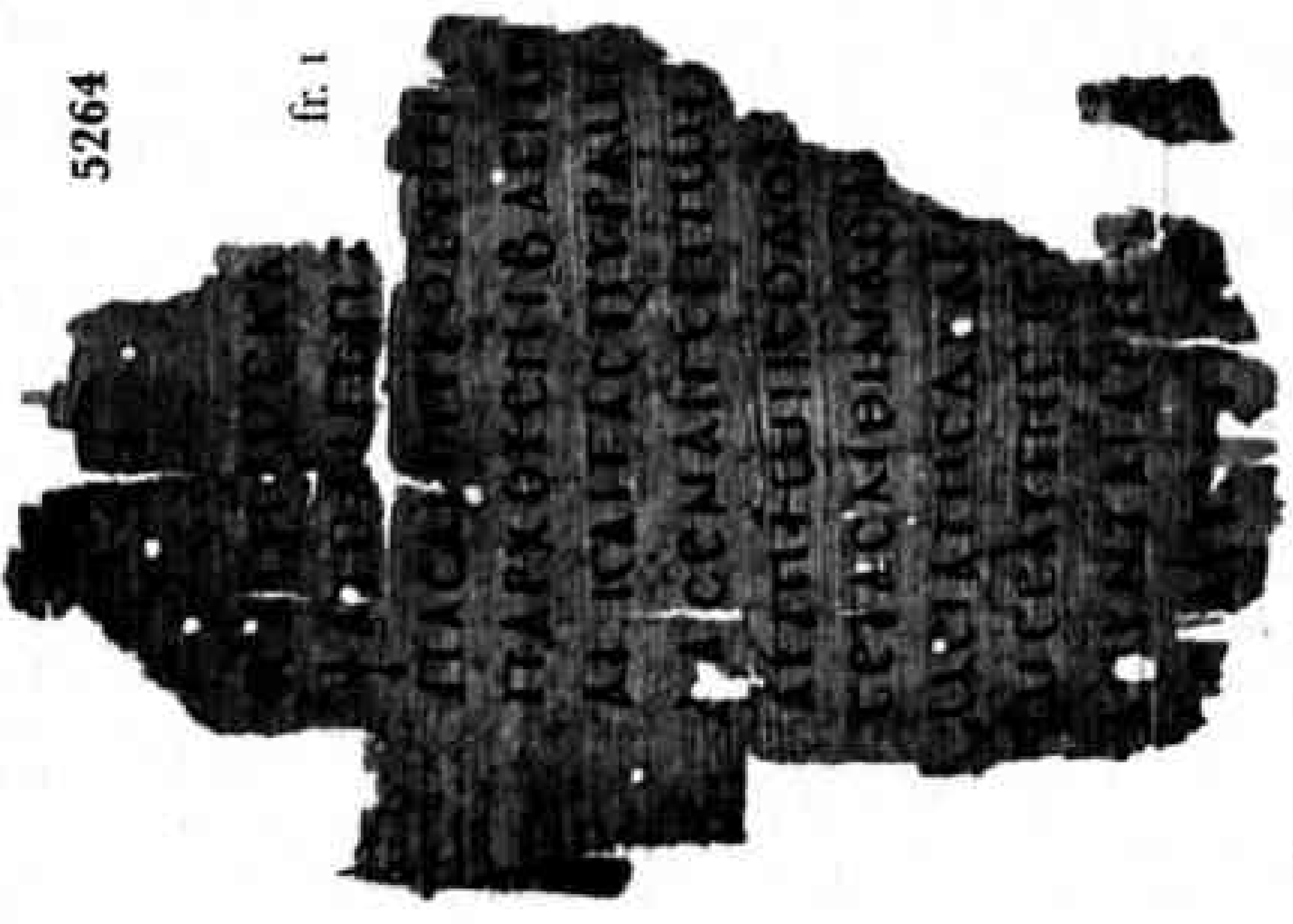


5263 fr. 1



5264

fr. 1



fr. 2



fr. 3



fr. 4



fr. 5



fr. 6

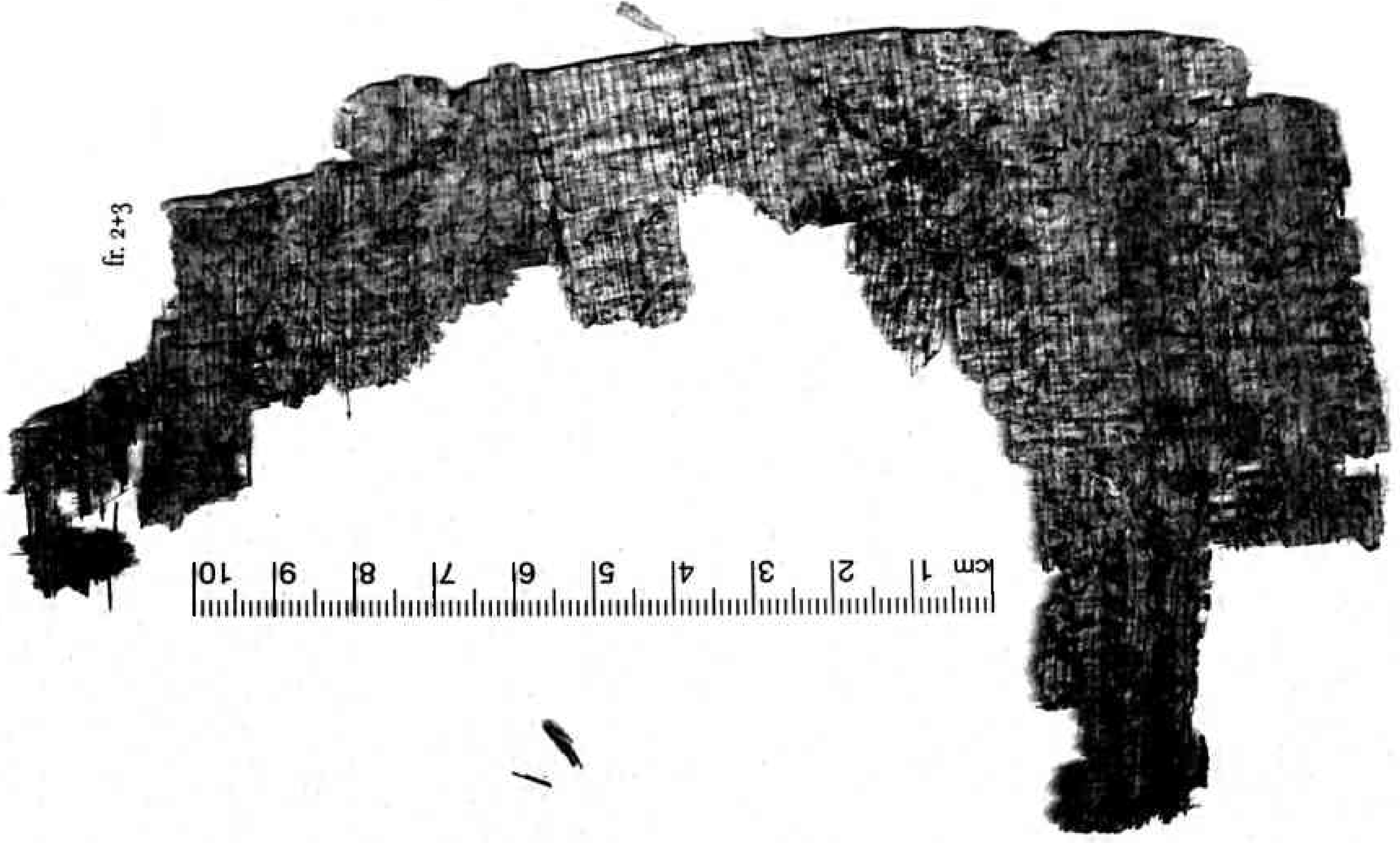


PLATE VII



fr. 1

5266 →



fr. 2+3

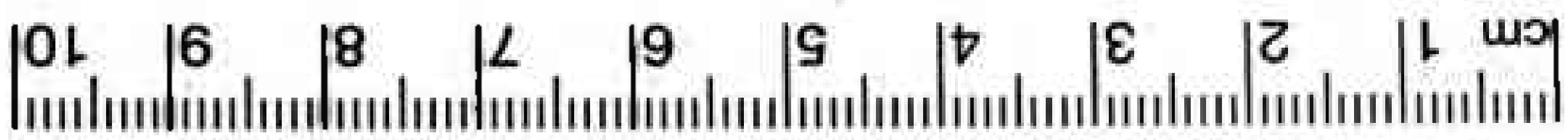
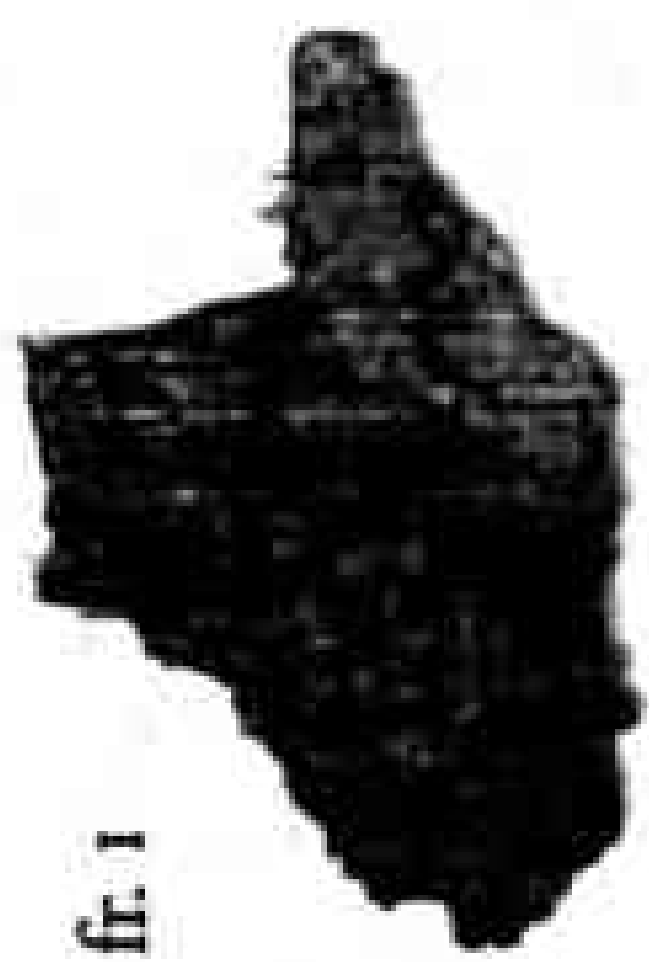
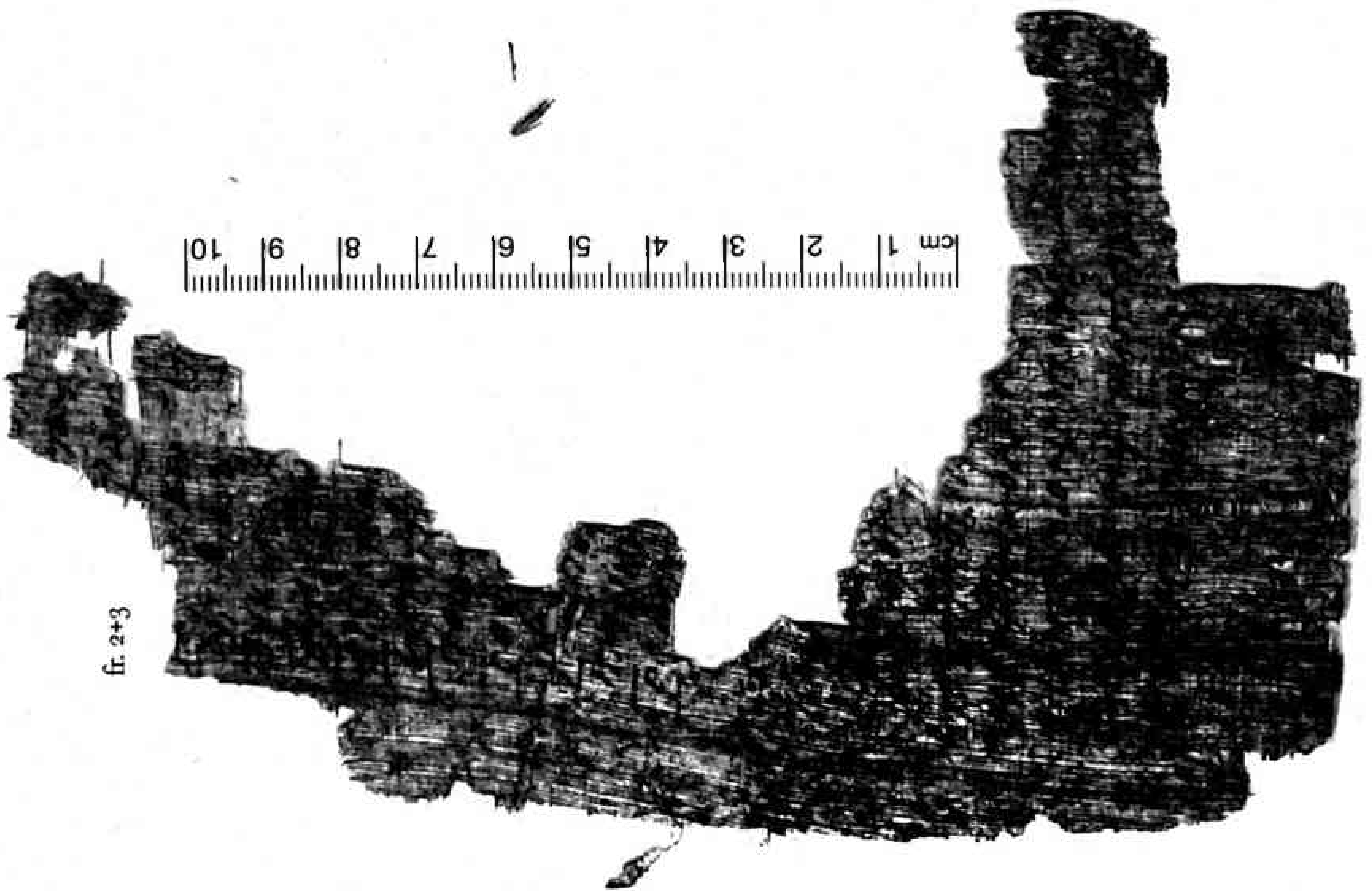


PLATE VI



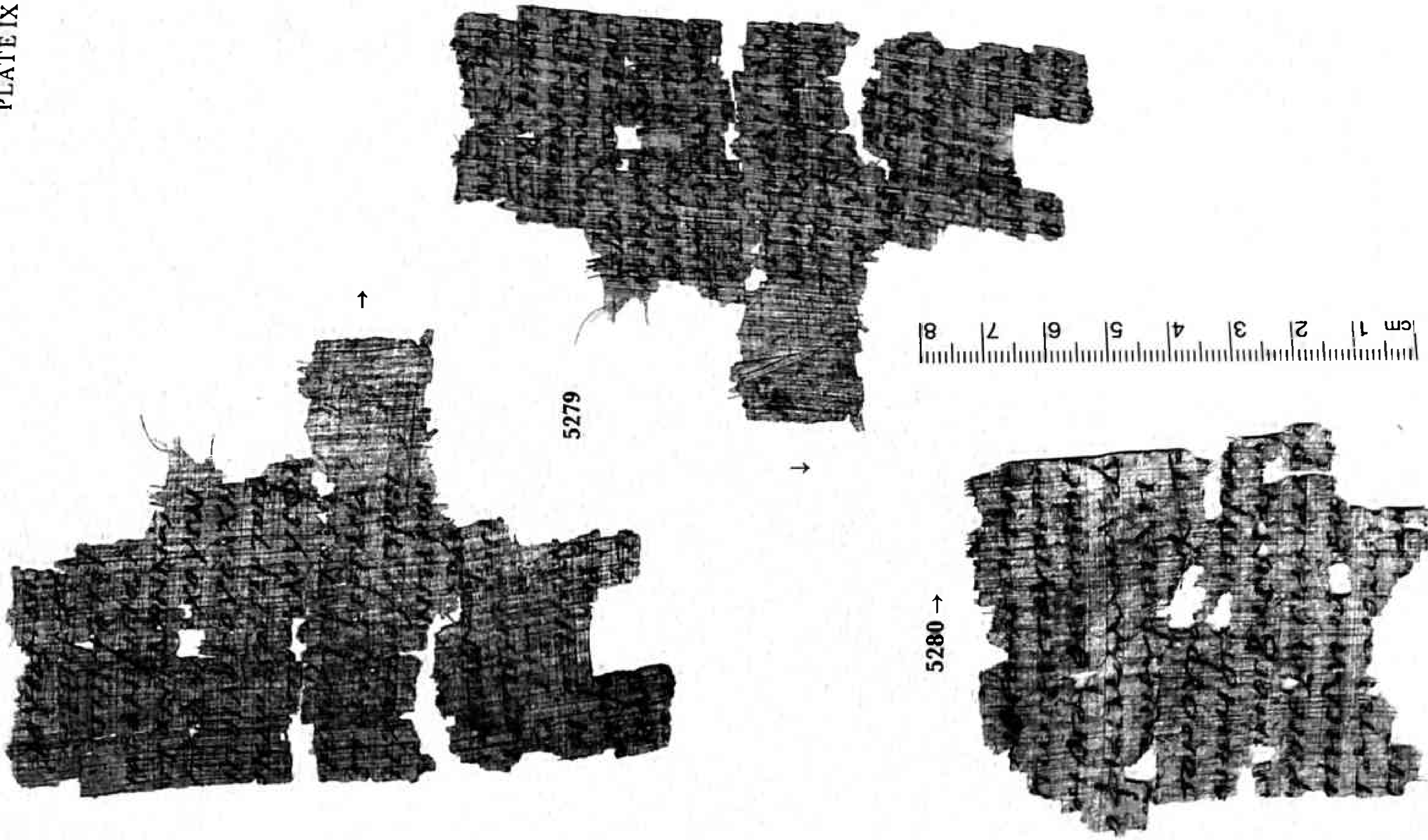
fr. 1

5266 ↓



fr. 2+3







5281



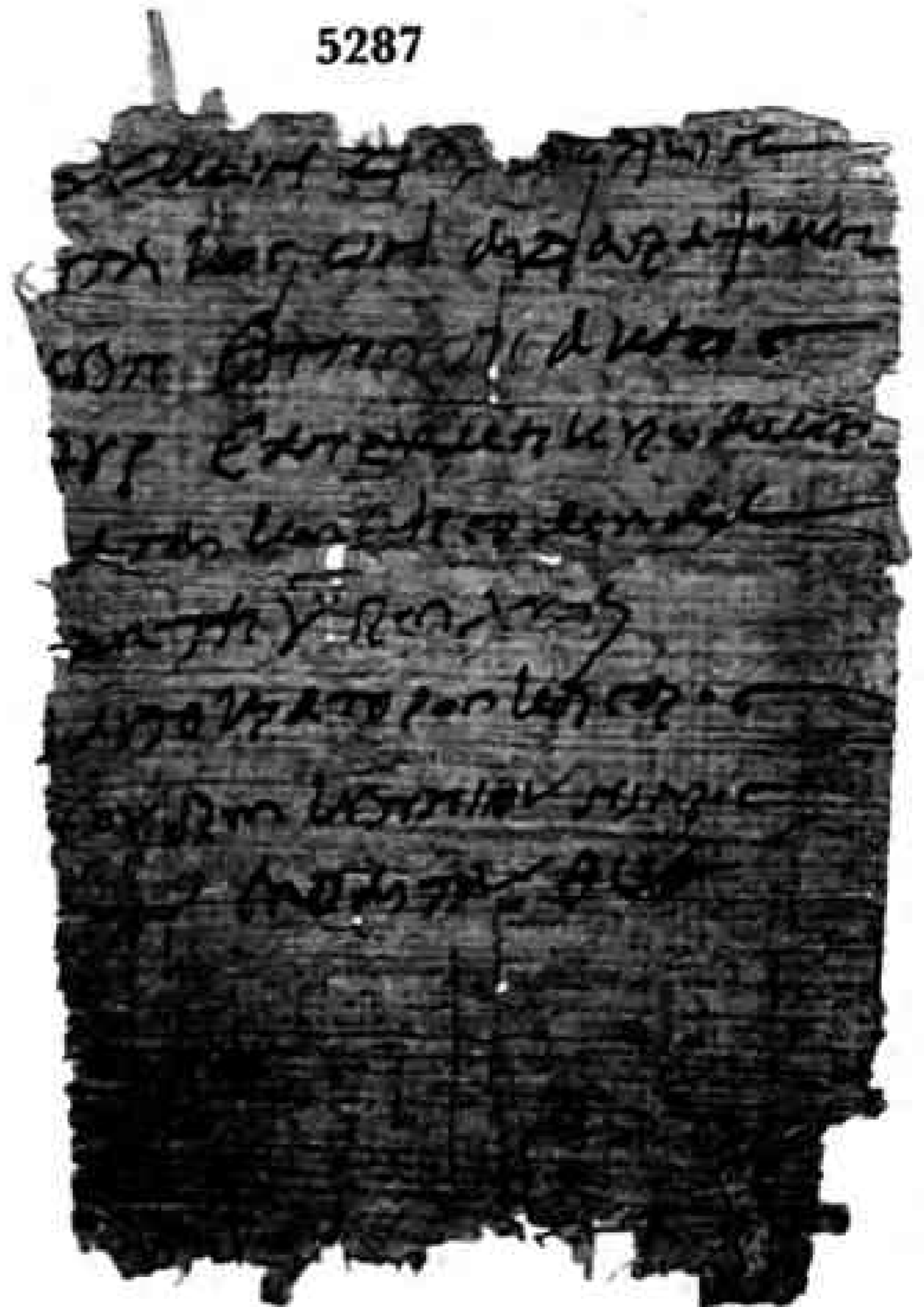
fr. 1

5285

fr. 2



5287





fr. 1

5284



fr. 2





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5289 (reduced)

